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An American Symposium on the Macedonian Problem

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ETHNOGRAPHICAL MAP OF MACEDONIA

This ethnographical map of Macedonia was inserted in the *Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D. C., 1914) to illustrate the Bulgarian point of view on the population of Macedonia. The map was prepared by Vasil Kantchev during 1900 with the following statistics: Turks 499,204; Bulgarians 1,181,336; Greeks 228,702; Albanians 128,711; Wallachians 80,767; Jews 67,840; Gypsies 54,557; Serbians 700; Miscellaneous 16,407. Total 2,268,224.

Taking into consideration the various aspirations of the Balkan states upon Macedonia, the Carnegie International Commission drew the following conclusion.

"The Bulgarian statistics alone take into account the national consciousness of the people themselves. The Servian calculations are generally based on the results of the study of dialect and on the identity of customs; they are therefore largely theoretic and abstract in character. The Greek calculations are even more artificial, since their ethnic standard is the influence exercised by Greek civilization on the urban populations, and even the recollections and traces of classical antiquity.

"The same difficulties meet us when we leave population statistics and turn to geographical distribution. From an ethnographical point of view the population of Macedonia is extremely mixed. The old maps, from that of Ami Boue (1847) down, follow tradition in regarding the Slav population of Macedonia as Bulgarian. Later local charts make the whole country either Servian, or Greek. An attempt at more exact delineation, based on topical study, is of recent date. There are, for example, Mr. Kantchev's maps, representing Bulgarian opinion, and the better known one of Mr. Tsviyits representing Servian. But Mr. Tsviyits' ethnographic ideas vary also with the development of Servia's political pretensions. In 1900 he gave 'Old Servia' a different outline from that he gave in 1911 (see his map published in the 'Petermann' series); and in the hour of Servian victory on the eve of the second Balkan war, another professor at Belgrade University, Mr. Belits, published his map, based on a study of dialects, a map which satisfied the most recent and immoderate pretensions." (*Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars,* pp. 30-31.)

The green color on the map above shows the Macedonian territory inhabited by Bulgarians, the orange stands for the Albanians, the violet for the Wallachians, the blue for the Greeks, and the red for the Turks. The demarcation line given by little crosses indicates how Macedonia was partitioned after the second Balkan war among Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria. This partition was upheld during the negotiation of the Peace Treaties of 1919 except for a slight revision of the Bulgaro-Serbian frontier which gave to Yugoslavia the district of Strumitsa.

Introduction

IT WAS ON September 3, 1901, when an armed group of Macedonian revolutionaries intercepted and captured, near the foothills of the Pirin Mountain, the American missionary, Miss Ellen M. Stone of Boston, Mass. With no difficulty in disarming the Turkish guards, who accompanied Miss Stone and her companion, Mrs. Gregory M. Tsilka, the revolutionaries "kidnaped" the two ladies.

The news about the kidnaping of Miss Stone was spread throughout the world. At that time the daring act of the Macedonian revolutionaries created a sensation in America. It was then, probably for the first time, that the American public learned more in detail about the Macedonian struggle against the Sultan's tyranny.

Caring for and watching her with extreme vigilance, the Macedonian revolutionaries held Miss Stone for nearly six months. Quite often she was moved from one village to another so that the Turkish authorities could not trace her.

In order to free the kidnaped American missionary, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, also known by its initials as IMRO, demanded from the Turkish government 14,500 Turkish pounds, which was equivalent to $60,000. Special committees were then organized in the United States to raise money for Miss Stone's ransom. On receiving the specified cash, the Macedonian revolutionaries then bought quantities of rifles, munitions and other necessary war materials, so that they might be able to carry on the fight against the Turks. At the same time, of course, the above incident exposed to the world the weakness and internal insecurity of the Turkish state.

When Miss Stone returned to the United States, she was already converted to the Macedonian cause. Visiting many cities throughout the country, she delivered lectures on Macedonia, describing the unbearable conditions of the Macedonian Bulgarians under the Turkish regime. The abduction was described by her in a series of articles in *McClure's Magazine* (June to October 1902, Vol. 19).

But even before the Stone's incident, there were Americans who understood well enough the struggle and aspirations of the Macedonian Bulgarians. In Constantinople (now Istanbul) there is situated the famous American institute, Robert College. A great number of Bulgarian youths from the Kingdom of Bulgaria, as well as from Macedonia, received their education at Robert College. Later, some of these graduates became leading Bulgarian statesmen. Their outstanding educator was Dr. George Washburn, President of Robert College from 1878-1903. Having been in contact with his Bulgarian students for a long time, Dr. Washburn was in a position to study the conditions and struggles of the Macedonian Bulgarians.

However, Macedonia and her people were known best by the American missionaries who had traveled throughout the country and had come in close contact with them. Schools were being organized in many localities, the most popular of which was the American school at Samokov, Bulgaria, near the Macedonian border. In the attic of this school, on many occasions, the Macedonian revolutionaries stored their war implements.

But a much greater interest toward Macedonia was shown by the Americans particularly after Miss Stone's incident. Just about that time the Macedonian freedom and independence movement began to manifest itself throughout the country. Macedonia was now a glowing hearth in the Balkans, and the attention of the Powers, who struggled for Balkan hegymony, was now focused on Macedonia. And when on August 2, 1903, the Elinden insurrection was proclaimed in Macedonia, America's attention was drawn to this part of the Balkan Peninsula. The Elinden insurrection, therefore, gave an opportunity to those individuals interested in the Balkans and the Near East to study more intensely the nature of the Balkan problems. Prior to the insurrection, the numerous revolutionary acts of the *IMRO* were classified by the Turkish authorities as deeds of "bandits." The events of 1903, however, threw a different light on the purpose and objectives of these "bandits." The American press published news and feature articles in full sympathy with the fate of the Macedonian Bulgarians. Many of the leading and influential periodicals dedicated special articles to the unfortunate conditions in Macedonia, and some of these publications editorially supported the just demands of the Macedonians. Of the leading American periodicals that have recorded the struggle and just demands of the Macedonians are the following: *Harper's Weekly* (May 16, October 3, 31, 1903), *Independent* (August 20, September 19, 1903), *Review of Reviews* (October and November, 1903), *Outlook* (November 7, October 31, 1903), *World's Work* (November, 1903), *The Nation* (November 19, 1903), and others.

As was expected, the unsuccessful end of the Elinden insurrection resulted in Turkish repressions and a reign of terror over the peaceful population. The World's interest was still focused on the events in Macedonia. Many writers and newspapermen from England, Russia, Australia, and the United States arrived in Macedonia to observe and make a study of prevailing conditions in the country. The most noted observers were Albert Sonnichsen, and Arthur D. Howden Smith. During 1906 Sonnichsen arrived in Macedania and immediately contacted the Macedonian revolutionaries. Roaming together and sharing their unpleasant life, Albert Sonnichsen spent several months with the insurgents. Upon his return to the United States, he published his book *Confession of a Macedonian Bandit* (New York 1909). In 1907 Arthur D. Howden Smith departed for Macedonia, and joining the Macedonian revolutionaries, he roamed with them for several months. Smith described his adventures in Macedonia in his book *Fighting the Turks in the Balkans* (New York 1908).

Meanwhile, neither the reform plans of September 30, 1903, worked out at Murzsteg by the Emperors, Francis Joseph of Austria and Nicholas II of Russia, nor the program for Macedonian autonomy worked at Reval in 1908 by King Edward VII of England and Nicholas II of Russia, nor even the Young Turk's revolution of 1908, which granted, on paper, at least, full right to the Macedonian Bulgarians, improved the state of conditions of the Macedonian people. The latter were left unprotected from the brutality of Turkish tyranny. It was because of the prevailing Turkish terror and persecution of the Macedonian Bulgarians, especially in the districts where the Elinden insurrection took place, that many of them left their homes and villages and immigrated to the United States and Canada. In the New World the Macedonian immigrants are happily enjoying full liberty, which was totally denied them in their subjugated fatherland. But their relatives and friends abroad continued the fight by all possible means against the Turkish regime.

When the Allied Balkan States declared war on Turkey on October 18, 1912, Macedonia was fighting against the Turks. At that time many Macedonian Bulgarians in the United States and Canada quit their jobs in the factories and railroads, sold their businesses, and departed with enthusiasm as volunteers to fight for the freedom of Macedonia. Two years later, those who remained alive and had means, returned to the United States disappointed. For the Allied war against Turkey did not bring to Macedonia freedom; it soon culminated in a second Balkan-inter-Allied War, that was terminated by the Bucharest Treaty of August 10, 1913. Instead of granting self-government for Macedonia, the Balkan states divided the country in three parts between Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria.

The Balkan wars were followed in the United States with great interest. In July 1913, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace created a special International Commission of Inquiry to study the Balkan wars by visiting the actual scenes where fighting had taken place. With the representatives of Austria, France, Germany, England and Russia, in this International Commission the American representative, Dr. Samuel T. Dutton of Columbia University, New York, also took part. The report of the above International Commission was published during 1914 in Washington, D. C., by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace under the title: *Report of the International Commission to Inquire Into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars*. The preface of this *Report* was written by the outstanding American educator, Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, New York, who was then acting director of the Carnegie Endowment. This work is characterized by its impartiality and scholarly analysis of vital and complicated Balkan problems, and is excellent source material. During the same year, Professor Will S. Monroe published his book on *Bulgaria and Her People—With an Account of the Balkan Wars, Macedonia, and the Macedonian Bulgars* (Boston 1914). Professor Monroe's work is one of the rare books that points out the actual state of conditions in the Balkans.

For more than three years during the World War, Macedonia became the theatre of war. Some of the most decisive battles were fought there, that determined more or less the outcome of the war. The Paris Peace Treaties did not change the fate of Macedonia. Nevertheless, the Macedonian people sincerely believed in President Wilson's Fourteen Points, which provided, among other things, self-determination of peoples. Unfortunately, the Wilsonian principles were not applied to Macedonia. Judging from the Diary of the American representative, David Hunter Miller, the Committee on New States—which also drafted the so-called Minority Treaties—for the first time considered the Macedonian question on July 10, 1919. Italy stood for the autonomy of Macedonia, while England proposed that the League of Nations should appoint its own representative in Macedonia, to see that the right of the people there was respected. France, on the other hand, was against both of these proposals. The English diplomat, Mr. Tyrell, suggested to Mr. Miller, the American representative, that the United States should become the League of Nations' mandatory power in Macedonia. But according to Miller, the discussion about Macedonia terminated when, on August 1, 1919, the Committee on New States received a letter from Nicola Pashich, the Serbian Prime Minister, stating that the Macedonians are Serbians and that they would be treated as the rest of the Serbians in the then enlarged Serbian State. By granting Pashich's demand, the Paris Peace Conference thus sanctioned the Bucharest Treaty of 1913, and Macedonia remained divided between Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria.

Several years after the Paris Peace Treaties, the Macedonian people renewed the fight for liberty and independence. The Macedonians abroad, who are bearing the brunt of the struggle, are now morally assisted by the Macedonian immigrants of the United States, Canada and Australia. The Serbian and the Greek governments have subjected the Macedonian Bulgarians to an unprecedented terror. All the Bulgarian schools and churches, formerly permitted by the Turkish regime to exist, are now closed. Many leading Macedonian Bulgarians were killed or imprisoned, and others, to avoid persecution, had to flee from Macedonia. It was because of this situation that thousands of Macedonian immigrants arrived in the United States and Canada. Those who were here before the war brought their families to America.

Although away from their native land, the Macedonian immigrants of the United States and Canada did not cease to think or worry about the fate of their relatives and friends abroad. Becoming naturalized and loyal citizens of the United States or of Canada and living under a democratic government, they soon realized what it means to enjoy the blessings of liberty. In America the Macedonians enjoy the right of free speech, press, and religion, rights which are totally denied them in Macedonia. Because of this situation, as early as 1921, that is, after the Peace Treaties were signed, the Macedonians of America organized into local associations under the name of Macedonian Political Organization (MPO) through which they render moral support to their brethren abroad and also defend the just Macedonian cause.

The activity and pleas of the MPO found sympathetic reaction in the hearts of many kind Americans who saw in the tradegy of Macedonia one of the greatest injustices of the 20th century. This in itself encouraged the Macedonians of America to fight for justice to Macedonia. Meanwhile, the Macedonian problem had not lost its political significance. During the last two decades, Macedonia has attracted the attention of those Americans who were greatly interested in the "powder-keg of the Balkans." Institutions like the Foreign Policy Association (New York), the

International Committee for Political Prisoners (New York), the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Philadelphia, Pa.), the Williamstown Institute of Politics (Williamstown, Mass.), by special reports, discussions and protests, have more than once considered as important the analysis of the Macedonian tragedy. These agencies recommended and insisted on the restoration of civil and political rights for the Macedonian Bulgarians.

Publications such as *The Current History, The Literary Digest, Time, The Dial, Story, The Town Crier, Travel, The National Geographical Magazine, The Nation, The New Republic,* and many others, have given space in their pages commenting on the Macedonian drama and also describing the life and characteristics of the people. Educators such as Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons, author and late lecturer at the War College, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Ferdinand Schevill of the University of Chicago, Professors F. K. Kruger, Arthur I. Andrews, John Bakeless, Edgar J. Fisher, Albert H. Lybyer, Ernst Christian Heimreich, and David Harris, have made special studies of the intricate Balkan problems. Most of these scholars have visited the Balkans and Macedonia, have written books and articles and delivered lectures relative to the role of Macedonia in the Balkans. The researches of these scholars are distinguished by an impartial and detailed analysis of the political events in Southeastern Europe; their works throw correct light on the intricate Balkan problems. Writers on current political events such as M. W. Fodor, John Gunther, R. H. Markham, G. E. R. Gedye, Emil Lengyel, Louis Adamic, Pierre van Paassen, C. L. Sulzberger and leading journals like the *New York Times, Christian Science Monitor, New York Herald Tribune, Washington Post, Chicago Daily News, Chicago Daily Tribune, Youngstown Vindicator, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Indianapolis Star, Detroit News* as well as the *Associated Press, United Press, International News Service,* have considered the Macedonian question important enough to write feature articles, to dispatch telegraphic news from the Balkans, and to arrange interviews with noted Macedonian leaders.

The Macedonian independence movement is full of dramatic scenes and incidents. Because of this fact some writers and correspondents in considering the Macedonian problem have emphasized the sensational element rather than the factual. In many instances, therefore, the humanitarian principle of the Macedonian movement has been minimized or misrepresented for the benefit of sensationalism. Nevertheless, it remains a recognized fact then, that since the conclusion of the Peace Treaties of 1919, which left Macedonia divided in three parts, the Macedonian question became an open wound in the Balkans. This shows that there must be something radically wrong. This wound is still unhealed, simply because the proper treatment has not yet been applied. What is this treatment? The great English statesman, William Gladstone, expressed it in four words: "Macedonia for the Macedonians!" which means the unity of the three parts of Macedonia as an independent political unit, where all of its people can enjoy equal rights and opportunities. It is for this objective that the Macedonian Political Organization of the United States and Canada is organized. Its headquarters is in Indianapolis, Ind. Its members are above all loyal American citizens. Having experienced the value of human rights and liberty in this country, they earnestly work to apply the American way of life and government in their unfortunate country of origin-Macedonia.

Every year in the first part of September, the Macedonian Political Organization convenes its annual congress. It became a tradition that after the official opening of the congress, and after the performance of the appropriate religious ceremony, to have a specially invited American speaker, one who is familiar with the Balkans. In the following pages of this book are the speeches delivered before the various congresses of the MPO. These speeches are not only a valuable contribution to the history of the Macedonian independence movement, but also a true and just analysis of existing conditions in the Balkans, as seen from different viewpoints. The speeches are arranged chronologically as delivered. Some of them contain thoughts, probably, that would not coincide with the present geographic and political order in Europe. Despite this fact, by publishing these speeches, we believe, it would help to clarify some of the burning Balkan problems, which are still unsettled even though European diplomacy has made numerous attempts in the past half a century.

LUBEN DIMITROFF, Editor,
"The Macedonian Tribune."

Indianapolis, Ind., April, 1941.

Macedonia—A Nightmare or a Vision?

PROFESSOR F. K. KRUGER, M. A. (University of Nebraska), Ph. D. (University of Tubingen) is a recognized authority on political conditions in Central Europe and in the Balkans. In 1927-28 he was American exchange professor at the University of Gottingen and lecturer at the Hochschule fur Politik at Berlin. Now he is professor of Political Science at Wittenberg College, Springfield, O. Edited: An Undiplomatic Diary by the American member of Inter-Allied Military Mission to Hungary, Maj. Gen. Harry Hill Bandholtz; Columbia Press, 1933.

Professor Kruger delivered his address before the 10th Annual MPO Convention September 6, 1931, at Gary, Indiana.

I HAVE no prejudices, no ax to grind. I am absolutely a free citizen of a free country. Only my belief in the principles on which this great country, by tradition a haven for political refugees, was founded and a general liberal and humanitarian philosophy make me take a stand against the justified. We pride ourselves of being particularly jealous of liberty, and we make every school child in our land remember Patrick Henry's famous words: Give me liberty or give me death! No word was so dear to the hearts of Americans in the past generation as Liberty. Whenever people on this earth revolted against tyrannical rule and established their own government our Department of State was always eager to recognize such government as quickly as possible and welcome the new free state into the family of nations. At the beginning of American history stand the famous words of Thomas Jefferson, recorded in the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." About one hundred and fifty years later, on the 22nd of January, 1917, the late President Woodrow Wilson repeated the words of Jefferson and added, "there exists no right whatsoever, by which people may be transferred from one master to another like chattel." This same idea was later on embodied by Wilson in his once famous Fourteen Points, which were accepted as the basis for the future peace by the Allies in the World War. The American people, when entering the war, subscribed enthusiastically to this promise given to a bleeding world. It is therefore, I maintain, the sacred duty of all honest American people to bring about the realization of this promised ideal.

The treatment which the Macedonians received at the end of the World War is one of the many sad tragedies of that "peace which passes understanding." It is a pity how few

Americans know the story of how the unfortunate Macedonians were delivered to their henchmen. Part of Macedonia was given to Greece because of the "personal charm" of Venizelos, the foxy magician of the Balkans. A present of territory that did not belong to the generous givers.

The greater part of Macedonia went to Serbia upon the insistence of the French "Tiger," Clemenceau, who demanded that his valiant Allies, the Serbs, must be rewarded. The American delegation to the peace conference was absolutely opposed to see Macedonia partitioned, as Poland had once been divided among her neighbors. Yet, I am sorry to say, when Clemenceau brushed aside all arguments and insisted on placing Macedonia under the yoke, the United States and the other powers gave in, thus helping to nail Macedonia on a cross. Have we American people then, I ask, no moral obligation to the Macedonians?

Let me give you another reason why we should be deeply concerned over the fate of Macedonia. When on that fateful day of July, 1914, the bullet of a misguided Serbian youth killed the Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife, there were few Americans who thought that this was a shot which would provoke an infernal echo in all parts of the world and finally draw even this country in the World War. The Americans ought to have learned their lesson. The Balkan peninsula is still the powder barrel of Europe and may again bring about a terrific explosion which will shatter tyranny which enchains Macedonia, your mother country.

Many of my American fellow citizens have asked me: "Of what concern is Macedonia to us in this western hemisphere?" Let us pause for a moment and see if such an attitude is the windows of America. Macedonia is the heart of the Balkan question. There can not be peace in that part of Europe until the Macedonian question is settled. And nothing is settled, as Lincoln stated correctly, unless it is settled right. The late Woodrow Wilson, who coined such fine phrases, said some time toward the end of his life: "Peace and justice are twin sister." A true word indeed! We might improve the picture by saying: Justice is the mother of peace. No real peace is possible without justice. Perversion of justice at the end of the World War is the reason why Europe today is restless. Many well-meaning but superficial people shout today: Peace at any price! What peace—the peace of the graveyard? That is impossible as long as red blood flows in the veins of men. The first demand is, therefore, justice for Macedonia, and I am sure peace will follow, and only then.

But what does "justice for Macedonia" mean? Let us suppose that the rule of the foreigner in Macedonia were *not* oppressive. Even then justice would require that a nation which is conscious of itself should be given an opportunity by the right of self-determination to express its will and decide its own government.

However, unfortunately, this assumed best condition of foreign rule does not exist in the so-called Yugoslavia. The very opposite! It can truly be said now, after the tyranny of Mussolini in South Tyrol has somewhat relaxed, that the fate of the Macedonians is the most pitiable of all oppressed people in Europe. Absolutely reliable eye witnesses and foreign observers agree that the brutality of the Serbian police is equal to the worst methods of the medieval inquisition. Courts in the true sense have ceased to function. The jails are filled with so-called political criminals. The number of martyrs who have suffered painful death or who have been driven to commit suicide in order to avoid a more horrible death is appalling. Bulgaria and other European countries, as well as the United States, are full of Macedonian exiles. Macedonians songs and customs are forbidden. Schools and churches in which the mother tongue, Bulgarian, is spoken are closed. The people are even forced to change their names to Serbian endings. Nothing is more certain in Macedonia than the insecurity of life and liberty of Macedonians. Conditions have grown worse and worse so that the well-known French Liberal, the late D'Etournelles de Constant, exclaims: "Macedonia has ceased to be a graveyard, it has become a hell!" If only the mass of the American people would know the actual conditions in that poor country, or if like the Jews the Macedonians would possess powerful kinsmen in Wall Street, the United States, I am sure, would rise in indignation and protest in the name of humanity! Unfortunately, the conscience of the world has not been sufficiently aroused, because people are concerned so much with their own troubles. But let us not forget, as intimated previously, that overnight their troubles may be ours.

Yugo-Slavia is seething with revolt. May I divert your attention for a moment from Mace-

donia to Croatia? Here we have a people who through a sacred contract were made partners in the new state of Yugo-Slavia. But how has this promise been kept! The familiar story of Macedonia repeats itself in Croatia. Persecution and assassination increasing daily, because the Croatians, conscious of a superior culture and insisting on proper economic and political considerations, refuse to submit to an autocratic and selfish rule from Belgrade, carried on under the leadership of a dictator who as a young officer of the guard opened the gates of the palace to the assassins of his king. This despicable deed is merely one episode in the chain of political murders committed throughout the history of Serbia. Croatia, and, in fact, all the different parts of so-called Yugo-Slavia join hands with Macedonia in vowing to bring about the end of such a tyrannical rule and menace to civilized progress.

What then is the way out of this chaos? Serbia thinks of Macedonia as a bothersome appendix which ought to be cut out. But Macedonia is not an appendix of the Balkans. It is its heart. And you cannot cut out the heart. It is absolutely folly for Serbia that she thinks to be able to denationalize and destroy Macedonia. The nationalism of the Macedonians has progressed to such a degree of consciousness that neither Serbia nor Greece will be able to destroy it. The history of other nations in the past should serve as a lesson to the temporary rulers of Macedonia. Macedonia will never die. They cannot even chloroform her. They only can hold her down by force.

Naturally, many Americans will suggest that the League of Nations should be appealed to, especially since by the Treaty of St. Germain, the league was made the guardian of the rights of the minorities in Yugo-Slavia. Appeals for an impartial investigation of the situation in Macedonia and requests for the establishment of the most elementary rights of the Macedonians have indeed frequently been sent to the Secretariate of the League by the National Committee of the Macedonian Organizations. But the result has been so far absolutely nothing. All appeals have been laid on the table. It is clear to the Macedonians that, as far as they are concerned, the League of Nations has been a "light that failed." The prestige of the league has suffered greatly from its failure to meet its obligation to protect the European minorities. But if the very institutions established for the peaceful change of apparent political injustice refuse to function, I am afraid the hand of fate will pass over the work of the peace conference like the wet sponge of a teacher erasing what has been written on the blackboard by a confused or ignorant pupil.

Can the Macedonians put any trust in a sudden conversion of the hearts of the Serbian rulers which would grant them a position similar to that of Ireland in relationship to England? If ever there was a time when such a solution was possible and would have found some supporters among the Macedonians, I am sure that time has passed long ago. The conduct of the Serbs has been so terrible and that of the Greeks so unreasonable and unfair that only one solution of the Macedonian question is possible and feasable: Macedonia to the Macedonians, the reunion of all Macedonians in an autonomous state.

I think of such a Macedonia as a bridge which will unite the other Balkan countries, a Switzerland of the Balkan peninsula, in which the minorities will be permitted the greatest amount of cultural freedom, a land with a wise and tolerant government, which will be an example to other countries how to make all its inhabitants happy.

Macedonia, enslaved by tyrannical governments, is a constant and frightful nightmare to the peace of Europe and the world as a whole. Macedonia, free under a self-determined government, is a wonderful vision of a sober, peaceful and happy world.

Macedonia—what shall it be—a nightmare or a vision? May the right answer soon be found. Macedonia must be free! Let all lovers of freedom wherever they are found in this world, see to it that it shall be free.

Macedonia—Switzerland of the Balkans

JOHN BAKELESS is a former editor of The Forum, The Living Age, and The Literary Digest; lecturer on journalism New York University 1927-29, instructor 1929-30, assistant professor since 1930, visiting instructor, Harvard summers, 1938-39. Awarded Guggenheim fellowship for 1936-37. He is the author of the following books: The Economic Causes of Modern War, 1921; The Origin of the Next War, 1926; Magazine Making, 1931; Christopher Marlowe, The Man in His Time, 1937; Daniel Boone, Master of the Wilderness, 1939; Editor of Report of Round Tables and General Conferences, Williamstown Institute of Politics, 1932; Contributing editor Current Literature, 1929 - 32. Scholastic since 1932, also contributor to Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Dictionary of American Biography; Dictionary of American History.

Mr. Bakeless delivered his address before the 11th Annual Convention of MPO September 4, 1932, at Cleveland, Ohio.

THE GLARING injustices of the present order in Macedonia, and especially the Yugoslav regime, are likely to produce a new world war. The Macedonian situation is almost exactly like that of 1914. Then the Yugoslavs were themselves the oppressed. Today they are oppressors. Then the Yugoslavs set up a revolutionary organization to right what they felt were wrongs. Today, in the Inner Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, the Macedonians have done the same. The danger lies in the constant state of unsettlement and friction, maintained by the Yugoslav denial of the Macedonian people of the elementary rights of all peoples: free speech, a free press, free schools, the right to worship in their own language and the right to self-government. So long as such a situation persists there can be no permanent quiet in the Balkans, and so long as there is unrest in the Balkans, Europe and the world as a whole are in danger.

I have just come from the Williamstown Institute of Politics, where a number of experts assured us that the Balkans were never quieter than they are today. That quiet, if it exists at all, is, I am sure, a superficial quiet, masking a great unrest. In the interests of the world at large there should be a searching and impartial investigation into the Macedonian situation. Its object should be, first the enforcement of the minorities treaties, to which Yugoslavia is pledged but which she systematically ignores. Its object should be, second, to enable the Macedonian people to agitate by peaceful political means for the right of self-government and autonomy.

Today, the harshness of the Yugoslav oppression gives them no choice but to operate by violence within the country or by agitation outside it. They have no other choice because the use of ordinary political means are denied them by the denial of free speech and a free press.

As a matter of international law, the provisions of the minorities treaties signed at the close of the World War should be put in force.

At present states which refuse to do so are violating their pledged word and the law of nations.

As a matter of ordinary decency and justice, the Macedonian population should be given their freedom.

As a matter of safety for the rest of the world, this crying wrong should be righted.

The League of Nations has signally failed in its duty to see that these treaties are enforced and that the rights which they guarantee to the Macedonians should be granted. Yet the League has consistently refused even to examine these conditions or to listen to the protests of the representatives of Macedonia. The reason is, unfortunately, clear enough. Yugoslavia is a protege of France; and the French are all-powerful in the councils of the League.

Many people will greet with some dismay the prospect of the erection of still another Balkan state. But the creation of an autonomous Macedonia might well be regarded as an augury of permanent peace in the Balkans. Switzerland offers a fair analogy in the heart of western Europe. The Swiss live at the crossroads where German, Frenchman and Italian meet. So long as Switzerland is an autonomous state, governing itself, there is peace. If there were no Switzerland, however, we should perpetually be having bickerings between French, Germans and Italians for the possession of its territory.

In the same way, Macedonia stands at the crossroads in the Balkans. Greece, Yugoslavia, and formerly Bulgaria struggled for her territory. They will continue to quarrel and struggle so long as there is hope of gaining territory there. Set up an independent state, end that hope, and you establish Macedonia as the Switzerland of the Balkans.

I myself sincerely hope that the day will come when some kind of United States of the Balkans can be established. But if so, it will have to be a free and voluntary association of the Balkan peoples on a basis of equality. There is no hope of peace or quiet if an aggrandized Yugoslavia is allowed to grow until she dominates the peninsula. In such a federated state, however, a free and autonomous Macedonia might well take her place as an equal among her peers.

Macedonia—The Volcano of the Balkans

PROFESSOR ARTHUR I. ANDREWS was at one time Professor of Diplomacy on the faculty of the Charles University, Prague. He delivered his address before the 12th Annual MPO convention September 3, 1933, at Detroit, Michigan.

IT WILL be difficult, perhaps, for outsiders to understand why I am chosen to be in this place at this time. I am neither Macedonian nor the son of a Macedonian. I doubt if in America, at any rate, my appreciation of the seriousness of Macedonian grievances has been noticed at all. Americans have been far too pre-occupied with other matters the last few years and are quite disinclined, apparently, to take seriously the difficulties of a comparatively few hundred thousand people in an obscure quarter of the globe. No particular attention is vouchsafed to any one championing the wrongs of your people. You—accordingly to the word sent to me by your Committee—seem to regard me as the friend of the Macedonians. That is precisely what I have hoped to be, what my intention is to be. Not being a journalist, reporter or editor, not being a diplomat nor publicist, having no political or financial axe to grind in this matter, my excuse to others outside this hall must be that this Macedonian question is a problem in which I, as an historical student and professor, specializing in this quarter of the globe, have a definitely ascertainable interest. Yet, of course, that does not tell the story. There is the human interest to it as well as the purely intellectual. No one could visit Macedonia and Bulgaria, as I have, without having something more than coldly academic or purely professional interest in the Macedonian people.

Yet I am perfectly well aware, as I look around this hall, that I am to discuss a topic upon which I know less than one-one thousandth of what you do, here. Interesting and varied as have been some of my experiences in Macedonia, they hardly have amounted to more than a scratching of the surface—not but what I have been given every facility by every Macedonian, no matter what his position, with whom I have come into contact. It has not been their fault if I have not understood everything that I have seen, and much of what I have heard. But, after all, my chief value consists in the fact that I am an American, an impartial historical student with something of an international outlook.

Twenty years ago, if an American audience had been told that within four years, as a result of a war arising in the Balkans, the United States would be involved in its greatest European war, that the people of this country would be, in fact, engaged in the most gigantic war the world had ever seen, that two million Americans would be on their way to take part in the sruggle on the continent of Europe, the person who made such statements would have been set down as a fantastic, crank or worse. Today we are more keenly aware of possibilities. Today we realize that there is something real, not merely platitudinous, in the statement that the world has grown so much smaller that what effects one section affects every other section. In other words, today we realize that what is happening down in the Vardar Valley may be of keen interest to every American, may, in fact, affect his standard of living for generation after generation as these generations pay the cost of remedying such conditions. No one dreamt of a world war that could involve America, but I may say that no one had the capacity to imagine a world war with the economic consequences to the United States such as we have experienced. The idea, therefore, that the American people should pay no attention to what is going on in any quarter of the Balkan is absurd. Sooner or later the responsible leaders will realize this and we shall get back again into our international stride and take up again the part we should have never forsaken, a part in the world family of nations.

America has always been, both in tradition and in reality, the home of the oppressed. It is to be hoped that this will remain true as long as there are any oppressed on the face of the earth. At least one refugee there should be, and according to its traditions and ideals the United States of

America should be that refuge, even if all others should fail. Of course that implies not merely protection from the American authorities but a reasonable consideration of the American attitude by those who are welcomed here. Speaking as an American, I have never found a Macedonian yet that did not seem to fully appreciate American ideals. If anything, the average Macedonian seems better prepared to understand basic American ideals than the average American himself. To be sure, it was a Bulgarian and not truly a Macedonian who faced down the radical Bolshevik fanatics on Boston Common a few years ago and told them they didn't appreciate their blessings—that it took a Bulgarian who had been oppressed so long to understand what it meant to have a government like that under which Americans lived. But I have no doubt that there are plenty of Macedonians who would have done as Vatralsky did a few years ago. It is, therefore, quite easy for Americans to feel not merely a sympathy but sympathetic understanding for the wrongs of the Macedonians. As long as the Macedonian movement confines itself to lines that can be approved by progressive elements everywhere, Americans will be among the foremost to give that approval. Steadily has the Macedonian group shown itself, it seems to me, cognizant of the fact that they are living in the 20th and not in the 16th century. It is that realization that in the end will give Macedonians a final victory over oppression of any kind, but the high standard of the Macedonian leadership must be maintained in order that all liberal-minded Americans may give steady support and encouragement.

One has to contend against prejudices. There is the prejudice on the part of those who know about Eastern Europe and care less. Concerning their fatuity I am speaking elsewhere. Some of them are not hard to interest if you are persistent enough, but it is still hard to persuade them that there is any reason for being interested in such a far-away quarter of the globe. Of course, if there were more Macedonians voting in the United States perhaps there would be more attention paid to them. Unfortunately that point is only too well taken in some cases.

On the other hand, many people who do not know where Bulgaria and Macedonia are, have very peculiar ideas as to the kind of people living in those sections. Both of these peoples are regarded by some as semi-Asiatic and likely to take an Eastern rather than a Western standpoint. The fact that both Bulgarians and Macedonians have warmly welcomed American cooperation with them is very little known, and the significance of this cooperation is still less comprehended. As to the Asiatic and Eastern viewpoint, it was a very complacent Boston paper that published a statement in 1913 that "a Bulgaria bordering upon Turkey would be a Bulgaria in cahoots with Turkey." They still think of Macedonians as being bandits, pure and simple, interesting on the stage, but likely to be obnoxious elsewhere. The idea of visiting Macedonia is abhorrent to them because they can see no reason for it, never having heard of Rila or Pirin, or Melnik and they regard it as a punishment rather than a pleasure. It was a friend of mine who asked me once if I was really going to take my wife down into Macedonia, and when I replied that was *just* what I was going to do, asked me "What have you got against her?" Many Americans have the same attitude as the Englishman did in Chicago. A few years ago an Englishman told me that he went to Chicago wanting excitement. He put a pocketful of change in his pocket, visited all the streets that looked "bad" to him and jingled his money wherever he went. Then he came home disappointed because he had not met a single gangster, nor had he been "held up." Again, Macedonia loses because when it is a question of attacking Serbia it is Austria or Croatia that assume the position of protagonist or are put into that position, or else the Montenegrin Movement is played up to the point that focuses attention upon those valiant people—certainly one of the most valiant of the Slavic race.

It does not do to tell any one who has wandered around through Western and Southern Bulgaria during the past half a dozen or more years that there is no unrest in "South Serbia." One might just as well try to persuade the peasants on the slopes of Mt. Etna that there is nothing ever troubling the insides of that wonderful Volcano. Somehow the flow from the crater must be accounted for; somehow the flow of refugees by the hundreds of thousands has to be explained. Accounting for it is by no means easy except on a very definite and simple hypothesis that does not reflect much credit to those now governing the territory from which they came. Perhaps I might suggest that much credit is inadvertently given to those Macedonian leaders who are said to have spirited themselves across the barbed wire, three lines of it, across the ditches, over the sharpened stakes, past the lines of guard houses and

into the villages of the quiet Macedonians of "South Serbia," "who desire nothing but to be left alone." Certainly if the representations from this section are to be credited to or blamed upon those with whom you are acquainted, why, they must be super-men, without question. But such explanation does not appeal to the common sense of those who have studied the matter and similar matters during the past years. Outsiders alone could not provide all the chemicals for this boiling over from the Vardar Valley. Whatever was "rotten in Denmark," there is something rotten below Nish and above Salonica. Nowhere have I yet had an adequate explanation of these great groups of refugees. Again it is hardly reasonable to suppose that these peasants deliberately vacated in order to make trouble for the "powers that be" in the region from whence they came. That would imply that they are hostile to the Serbian regime, that, in fact, that they are Bulgarians or Macedonians and we have all been thoroughly taught that there never have been any Bulgarians in "South Serbia." People do not leave lands and goods, the graves of their fathers and the traditions of their ancestors just for a whim or just to be obnoxious to people that they have never seen. Sometime we can get at the full truth.

Probably you will say that you are already getting it, that it is being published in your papers in accounts by your own leaders—accounts that have been proved to be substantially correct. In spite of all the arguments against these accounts, in spite of all the possible exceptions that might be taken to these accounts, the accounts themselves go to substantiate the still stronger deductions drawn from the numbers of the refugees, and prove points that have been made in your publications time and time again. Unquestionably they tell a story that is very bad in the light of the twentieth century. Partisanship aside, all bias of every kind barred, the fact remains that these conditions can not and must not be allowed to continue.

The obvious answer that most of you will make to me at this juncture is this: How is it to be prevented? Unfortunately I have no answer ready; unfortunately, there is no easy way to get rid of such wrongs as these; unfortunately, the pre-occupations of the world at the present time are such as to make peoples and governments selfish and disinclined to interfere with anything that they can avoid interfering with. In this respect I am a regular "Job's comforter." I can offer nothing that is really helpful. I can merely reiterate that you can add my name to the roll—if it is not there already—of those who heartily disapprove of conditions in this section of Southeastern Europe, and who desire an immediate and radical change for the better.

It has been stated positively to me that there is no Macedonian question, no grievances of Macedonians in Serbian Macedonia nor any Macedonian. All is Serb or Serbian.

In America we have expressions about "over-playing one's hand." The Belgrade Government has "over-played its hand." Belgrade has had good cards to play. Many Macedonians and Bulgarians have freely admitted this to me—but not the cards to back up such assertions or such bids for world sympathy.

Macedonia today is the Poland of yesterday. Divided into three parts, each under a different but almost always alien dominion, only in one section are the Macedonians given any real self-government. Thanks to the wisdom and common sense of the Bulgarian Government, from Gorna Jumaia to Petritch and from Melnik and Bansko to Undula the Macedonians of Bulgaria practically control all elected or appointed official, and in turn accept responsponbility for the peace and order of the land. But in Greek Macedonia and in the Macedonian territory ruled by the Serbians of Jugoslavia there is no self-government for the Macedonians. Neither Greek nor Serbian admits the existence of a Macedonian nationality, maintaining that in Northern Greece and in South Serbia there are Greeks or Serbians or, as the latter say, some "Macedonian Slavs."

The result is that hundreds of thousands of Macedonians, who regard the Greek or the Serbian language as alien, the churches set up in their midst as alien, the very customs, festivals, holidays forced upon them as alien—live under a regime of force, without opportunity even to express their wants, much less get any remedies for them.

Some years ago, in speaking about the wrongs of the Macedonians and the agitation concerning them, I was told that the agitation of those wrongs endangered the peace of the world. I replied that far *more* dangerous to the peace of the world were these wrongs that caused the propaganda which was so complained of. History itself teaches us that such was the fact. The World War was made inevitable by the wrongs done the subject peoples of Central and Eastern Europe.

On the other hand, it is easy to say "let in the light." But how? In some respects the problem is even worse than when we try to get the real truth about Soviet Russsia; yet in other respects the difficulty is quite a good deal less. The area is decidedly less vast and while that means that it is more possible to spot any outsider in that area yet the difficulties of getting a real understanding of the situation are not unsurmountable.

Yet who is to go to Macedonia in order to find out what the conditions are there? Newspaper reporters who do not speak the language might see many things, but not understand them. Even historical students with a little understanding of Slavic languages find it a hard matter. It does not seem to me, however, that one need to worry mainly about protection for investigators; the real trouble is in securing protection to any informants of those investigators. We have no right to go down into Macedonia in order to get evidence of bad conditions there and have the wrath of those responsible for these conditions visited upon the devoted heads of those who have given us the evidence. Yet enough of these have actually come out of Macedonia and it would seem as if sufficient evidence would at once justify the demand for an international commission sanctioned by the League most appropriately, a commission to visit the country and consider the amelioration of conditions there. There are certain precautions that could be taken by such a commission having official authority—precautions that would protect to a very large extent those whom it summoned before it to give testimony. Perhaps this is neither the time nor the place to make such suggestions more definite or detailed. But it seems to me that the time has come when impartial observers ought to be allowed to visit Serbian Macedonia and given every facility for ascertaining the facts. I am not even ready to suggest that such an impartial commission or person would not, even at the present moment, be given these facilities. But I will observe that if, in spite of Hungarian propaganda, Czechoslovakia welcomes impartial observers throughout the length and breadth of Slovakia and Ruthenia and if Rumania gives every facility for proper observers to study conditions in Bessarabia and Transylvania, and if France provides no restraint to those who would earnestly study the reannexed sections of Alsace - Lorraine or Poland suffer no impediment to be laid in the paths of responsible observers to Danzig or Gdynia, there is no reason why Jugoslavia should not throw open all her doors and windows upon "South Serbia."

Probably I shall again be criticized because I use the words Macedonia and Macedonian. It is not much less than a century since those who referred to Italy were admonished that Italy was merely a geographical expression. Today Macedonia is hardly allowed the privilege of being a geographical expression; in some quarters that right is completely denied. You may speak of Illyria, perhaps of Dacia, of Catalonia or of Brittany, of Normandy or of Wales, and even of Thrace, but Macedonia is barred from utterance as once was Poland or any mention of the Macgregors.

In the last analysis, what Macedonians want must be what the World wants. Macedonians only want peace, liberty, justice and equality for the people of Macedonia. If the World does not wish these things for South Serbians as well as for all the rest of us, then so much the worse for the World.

What suggestions can I offer? I am a pro-Balkan. I had warm friends in Sofia and Gorna Djumaia, in Petrich and in Kustendil. But I also have friends whom I admire and respect in Sarajevo and even in Belgrade. I am, primarily, an historical student; professionally, a professor of history. Facts are what I deal with and deductions cautiously made from these facts, from all facts obtainable. Theories inconsistent with these facts do not interest me; deductions not warranted by proved facts make no more impression.

You may or may not be in a mood to listen to suggestions of a very mild nature from me. It seems to me that the time is passed for merely listing atrocities of any kind. Recently people have become so complacently minded that they are disinclined to believe that any atrocities ever took place. Certainly not in the period 1914 to 1919! If they do believe, they do not wish to be reminded. Such a frame of mind is not helpful to real reform. The one consolation is that this frame of mind will not last.

But I would like to see stories published in English, as well as in French, and German, Spanish and Italian — true stories, but exceedingly well-told, based upon what has been going on in Macedonia for the past quarter century. These stories, using real names, so far as possible, and real incidents could then be published in book form. Their very sale would help in their publication. Prefaces to the book or books published should be written by those of international repu-

tation who sympathize with the wrongs of the Macedonians. I feel very strongly that the publication of such stories could easily be secured, provided they had sufficient literary merit and that the final effect of them would be incalculably great. They would, at any rate, serve to keep alive an interest in Macedonian conditions. I am very glad to see the continuous efforts being made on the floor of the League of Nations to ventilate Macedonian conditions. In my opinion this method is the sole, but sure, process that will eventually bring about the desired reactions. Your patience will be sorely tried, your funds will run low, but in the end the world will be won over to the doctrine that pitiless publicity must be applied to this area and to these conditions.

The Peace Treaties of 1919-1920 are full of flaws. There never was a peace treaty that wasn't. But to attack *blindly* and savagely these treaties simply play into the hands of the extreme standpatters. It is absurd to assume that these treaties were dictated solely by malice and conceived in stupidity. Neither are they the work of that much criticized class—the diplomats. In many respects these settlements after the World War were distinct improvements over previous World settlements. They took into account basic conditions, popular rights, and the future stabilization of the World. The fact that they faltered on some vitally important question affecting millions of people is quite another thing.

"Nothing is ever settled until it is settled right." We who hoped that the sacrifices of the World War would not be in vain, who believed that the real, the sole justification for that holocaust was in the liberation of peoples striving to be free can not now regard the World as settled until these things at least are settled right.

You Macedonians will bear with me a bit if I make my attitude on a certain basic question quite clear. If I have cherished hopes or dreams of a greater ideal than has yet been realized in Southeastern Europe, if I have thought of a United States of the Southern Slavs, it has been based upon encouragement received from Macedonian and Bulgarian as well as Bosnian, Croatian, Slovene and even Serbian sources. Whatever feeling I have for a true "Greater Jugoslavia" (the kind that my broader - minded Jugoslav friends desire), I have never accepted, for one moment, any conception that should be abhorrent to a single person in this room. No political organism in which Bulgaria would be subordinated appeals to me in the slightest. No arrangements of any sort, kind or description that would not give, not merely autonomy but equality to Macedonians has the slightest chance of agreement or approval from me. Something better than the past must be evolved; something more permanent, more in keeping with the true spirit of the twentieth century.

More than ever I am induced to believe that the solution of this sore spot, one of the sorest in Europe, must come through what seems to be the most radical but what is really the most simple, most logical, most permanent, most happy solution—the union of Jugoslavia as at present constituted with Bulgaria. This conclusion is no new one for me. Ten years ago, after the then premier of Bulgaria had stated to me his readiness to advance such a union, I was politely laughed at in London and elswhere for suggesting such an idea. Yet more and more, from both sides of the line, I have had increasing evidence that both Serbians and Bulgarians (to say nothing of Croats, Dalmatians and Macedonians) are more and more looking forward to what should be not merely the final solution of the Macedonian question but the end of the Balkan tradition of turbulence, war-breeding, and unrest. The Macedonian question becomes a domestic matter, no longer international or dangerous at all. There arises a new state, the consummation of over a century's struggle and labor and pain, the true Jugoslavia, from the Alps and the Danube to the Aegean and from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, strong enough, economically and politically, to stand alone.

Americans can only be interested in a Macedonian policy that leads to peace, sanity and progress. It must lay the ghosts of the past, it must provide a working basis for the future, a formula that all the Balkan can and ought to accept. It must take the Balkan questions out of international politics. It must provide a basis for the peaceful progress and development of the peoples of Eastern Europe in cordial cooperation and hearty goodwill. Whatever the exact political organization of this region in the future, this is the ideal to be sought for. And this is not merely the ideal—it is the inevitable reality.

Macedonian Fight for Freedom

STOYAN CHRISTOWE was born in Konomlady, Macedonia, during 1898. He came to America in 1911. Attended public schools in St. Louis and studied at Valparaiso University. He has translated into English and published in various magazines the works of Ivan Vazoff and Elin Pelin. He has contributed to The Dial, The Bookman, The Commonweal, Theatre Arts Monthly, The Saturday Review of Literature, The Outlook, Travel Magazine, and various other periodicals.

In 1928 he spent a year in the Balkans as special correspondent of The Chicago Daily News and its affiliated newspapers. He is the author of the following books: Heroes and Assassins, 1935; Mara, 1937; This is My Country, 1938. Mr. Christowe delivered his address before the 13th Annual MPO Convention September 2, 1934, at Fort Wayne, Indiana.

I WANT you to know that I am very happy to be present at this Congress. I would be happy indeed to address any congress of the Macedonian organizations in North America, any Macedonian congress for that matter, but I am especially happy to have been invited to this one. Perhaps it was deliberate, perhaps it was a mere accident, but the Central Committee could not have chosen a more fitting occasion to invite me. The Fort Wayne Macedonian organization bears the name of that place in Macedonia where I was born. And if Kostursko is my birthplace, Indiana is my adopted state. I was educated in this state.

Still I did not come here to talk about myself, or about the state of Indiana, much as I love them both. I came here to talk about another state, the state of Macedonia, or more specifically about the state of affairs in Macedonia. Curiously enough I have just come from a place called Macedonia. I don't mean our Macedonia, that Macedonia that gave us birth and nourished us through our childhood, but a Macedonia right here in the United States. Last week-end I was visiting with some friends in the state of Connecticut. Driving through the countryside, in the foothills of the Berkshire mountains, we were passing through a small village when my eyes fell on a sign reading: Macedonia Brook. I nearly fell out of the car in my eagerness to rush down the bankside and splash myself with the baptismal waters of this Macedonia Brook. Later I found out that nearby there is a small community of artists called Macedonia Heights. One of these days I am going there and shake the hand of every one of them.

But let us now go to our own Macedonia. If that Macedonia were only as free as this little one in the state of Connecticut! We Macedonians have never been known to run away from the truth, on the contrary we have been noted for facing the truth with our proverbial Macedonian courage. We all know then that the movement for Macedonian independence, for Macedonian freedom, is now passing through one of its most trying periods. Recently I returned from Macedonia, I am speaking now of our own Macedonia, where I had gone to gather some fresh material for a book I am writing about it. I was there, I

was in Mount Pirin, when the band of corrupt, misguided, quasi-Bulgarian statesmen from the Zveno Club of Sofia in cahoots with some army captains that were ready to deprave themselves as soldiers so long as they could be promoted to majors without passing the severe military examinations, staged one of those beautiful, *fictional,* Balkan melodramas and saddled the Bulgarian nation with a monstrous dictatorship. Before the nation could realize what was happening, these pseudo-nationalists caught it by the throat and deprived it of its long-cherished liberty which it had won from the Turks through priceless bloodshed. In the name of a united Bulgarian people with a single nationalist purpose, these Zvenars and mercenary army captains, are now ruling the country as though it were not a free Bulgaria, but a province under military occupation.

But while the whole state of Bulgaria now groans under the abominable dictatorship, it is the Macedonian district, the Petrich district, that has experienced and is experiencing the venom of the new regime. I spent a whole month in that district following the establishment of the dictatorship and I was there when the army blockaded it and by its hostile and ruthless treatment of the inhabitants made the whole region take on the appearance of a funeral procession. I have never had much love for any army uniform, but I must confess here—and those of you who have been to Bulgaria will probably share my feeling—I must confess to you that when I visited Bulgaria for the first time in my life (and that was seven years ago) and I saw for the first time Bulgarian uniforms, army officers' uniforms, police uniforms, even the uniforms worn by state railway employees, I experienced a deep and stirring emotion. I was thrilled because in these uniforms I saw the symbol of Bulgarian independence. It was a rare experience indeed to hear a policeman talk to you in your own native tongue instead of in Turkish or in Greek; it seemed incredible to go into a railway dining car and pick up a bill-fare printed in Bulgarian. You know what Bulgaria has meant to us unfreed Bulgarians from Macedonia. We have always loved and cherished it as a haven. We could be oppressed, banished, maltreated, but there was always Bulgaria where we could go and be received with brotherly affection and sympathy. But how things have changed now! Bulgaria itself has not changed; the Bulgarian people are the same, they still are the brothers of the Macedonian people. And they are as much the victims now of a band of opportunists as are the Macedonians. Still I have never hated a uniform in my life as I did the uniforms of Bulgarian officers and police now. And if I hurried away from Bulgaria to return to the United States it was because I refused to live under a monstrous regime, I refused to honor with my presence (and I say this with due sense of modesty) the present regime in Sofia. That of course is something entirely personal with me, but I think it represents fairly generally the feeling of the Macedonians in Bulgaria. I heard in Sofia Macedonians who spent the greater part of their lives in Bulgaria say that they regarded themselves as Bulgarian until the 19th of May, while others went further and added with appropriate irony that they were considering declaring themselves subjects of King Alexander of Yugoslavia.

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Now the dictatorship has undertaken this energetic campaign for the suppression of the Macedonian movement as much for the purpose of paving a way for friendship with Yugoslavia as for the sake of its own nationalist doctrine calling for a closely-knit, authoritarian Bulgarian state. The Macedonian Bulgarians represent a considerable division of the Bulgarian people. Now this division of the Bulgarian people has detached itself from the main body of the nation and is working out its own destiny. In other words the movement for an autonomous Macedonia is just as hateful to the present rulers of Bulgaria as it is to the Greeks and to the Serbs, for it tends to wean away from the main national body a group representing one-fifth of the total Bulgarian population and set it up as a separate nation. To crush this movement then is the policy of the dictatorship, for in crushing it, the dictatorship believes it will save the union of the Bulgarian people. And that is consistent with the nationalist doctrine and program and would seem logical to any Bulgarian devoted to the idea of a single Bulgarian state incorporating within its boundaries as many Bulgarians as possible.

The Macedonian Bulgarians, however, are not going to sacrifice their own chance of liberty and independence for the sake of a united Bulgaria. History has taught them well that their chances of ever becoming part of Bulgaria are null; therefore forty years ago they started out on their own hook. They have already built up a separate entity and it is now too late for any power to destroy the idea of a separate, independent Macedonia. If there are any who are under

the illusion that the Bulgarian dictatorship is liquidating with the Macedonian autonomous movement let me disabuse them quickly of that illusion. I do not mean to minimize the impact of the blow which these quasi-Bulgarians have dealt the movemnet. This was especially painful. Crucified Macedonia had so far been held to the cross by two nails, now it has been stabbed and nailed at a third place, and by Bulgarians which makes the new stab the "unkindest cut of all." Yet while Macedonia suffers another wound, the Macedonian question itself becomes more clearly defined than ever before. Because of the blood-ties between the Bulgarians and the Macedonians, and because the Macedonians have always found a haven on Bulgarian soil, there have been those who have never taken seriously the principle of independence of the Macedonian struggle. They have always tied it up with Bulgarian national aspirations. How many times have you seen in the press the Macedonian comitadjis called Bulgarian comitadjis, or Bulgarian revolutionaries? How many times have you read or heard statements that Ivan Michailoff is a Bulgarian fascist taking orders from Sofia? Well if Ivan Michailoff were taking orders from Sofia he would not be hiding under-ground for his life now, and if the hundreds of Macedonians now jailed and interned were not true to their ideal and were not ready to guard from violation the independence of the Macedonian cause they would not be in jail and in banishment. Even the most stubborn skeptics should now be convinced that the Macedonians are in dead earnest about their principle of independence. The Bulgarian pseudo-nationalists too have become convinced of the uncompromising stand taken by the Macedonians on this point, hence their drastic measures to bring into the national fold this considerable portion of the Bulgarian people. It is a great paradox this. The Serbians are torturing the Macedonians because they refuse to give up their Bulgarian nationality, the Greeks are torturing them for the same reason, and now the Bulgarians are dealing them this severe blow because the interests of the Macedonian Bulgarians do not coincide with the interests of the Bulgarian state.

So they have tried to destroy the movement. Well they would sooner destroy themselves. Just before he was shot, Todor Alexandroff said that whatever dog tried to bite the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization that dog became mad. The Macedonian cause is greater than any individual, greater than any group of individuals, and you can no more suppress this great elemental desire of a whole people to free itself from bondage than you can suppress the Atlantic Ocean. The Macedonians represent the most eloquent expression of a people's will for freedom that modern history can record. And that great desire for self-government, for liberty and a place in the sun for the Macedonians springs deep from their hearts and souls. The British lion and the French tiger did not succeed in destroying the cause. In 1919 when the victors assembled in Paris to inflict upon the vanquished that much publicised *peace without victory*, they thought they had buried the Macedonian troll.

But they figured without Todor Alexandroff and without the Macedonians themselves. They thought they could use these people as chattel to reward the imperialist ambitions of their petty Balkan allies, as now Kymon Gheorghieff wishes to use them as barter for his friendship with Yugoslavia. Well, the Macedonians are made of "sterner stuff" and are not going to be used as chattel by any power, great or small. They were the first people to use force, however small, against the conditions imposed upon them by the peace treaties, which they have never regarded as *peace* treaties but always as treaties *for* peace, that is to say treaties *for* a peace that was never to be so long as these shameful Paris documents remained in force.

So at a time when the world was shattered from four years of continuous butchery and everybody everywhere was sick of war or the mention of it, Todor Alexandroff had the courage to sound a new call to arms. For if the peace treaties brought temporary peace elsewhere in the world, they brought hell in Macedonia, and so far as the Macedonians were concerned at the time the peace treaties were a new declaration of war. Alexandroff and the hundreds who flocked to him in response to his call were true to the traditions of Macedonia and were determined to go ahead with the old slogan of Liberty or Death! Neither part of that slogan had yet been realized—Macedonia was not free and still their were Macedonians who were ready to give their lives for the freedom of Macedonia. Therefore there was no sense in quitting then, and it is no time to quit now, and there will be no quitting until there is a single Macedonian left to continue the struggle.

Many times we have been told that the Macedonian movement has reached its end. Only

people ignorant of the facts or else inspired by this or that source, can make such statements.

The Macedonian movement is not a fashion or a fad that it can exist today and pass out of existence tomorrow. The hearts and souls of a whole people are in it. The cause now represents 50 years of cumulative history and drama.

The struggle of the Macedonians for their autonomy has already rounded itself out into an epic of tremendous proportions. And even if Macedonia never became free and the modern Macedonians disappeared from the face of the earth, still this great struggle would not have been in vain, for the epic drama which the Macedonians created in the last 50 years will always demand a chapter in the history of the world.

Regardless of the future development of the Macedonian question, the historians of the future, whether they want to or not, will have to distinguish between two kinds of Macedonians, the Macedonians of Alexander the Great and the Macedonians of Todor Alexandroff, of Deltcheff and Grueff.

And the modern Macedonians may pass out of existence but they will leave behind them their great epic, their mythology, to embellish the history of the world. It is more noble sometimes to have struggled for freedom than to have enjoyed freedom. And consider it from whatever angle you wish, debate it as you will, the fact remains that there has been a Macedonia for 50 years just as there has been a Serbia, a Greece, and a Bulgaria.

Modern Macedonia exists just as concretely in a historical sense as any other country that has enjoyed self government. In the last 50 years the people of Macedonia have created their Macedonia the Macedonia which is their own creation which they want for themselves. And even if they never get it from the present imperialist possessors of it, history will not deny it to them, history will give it to them in its pages, and it is needless to add that in the final analysis, all is history.

Throughout its existence the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization has had to fight for the realization of the paramount objective—Independence for Macedonia, and at the same time it has had to fight for its own independence too. Imro has to be alert to guard itself from ever becoming the tool of a foreign power. In 1924 it was shaken to its foundations because the Macedonian cause faced the danger of being sold to other, non-Macedonian interests. And now, as I said a while ago, the hundreds of Macedonians who are in Bulgarian jails or in banishment would be free tomorrow if only Imro would consent to take orders from Sofia, if it were a Macedonian independent organization in name only, to fool the world, but in actuality an unofficial army corps, like a horde of *bashibozouks*, taking orders from the Sofia war office without binding it officially for its revolutionary activity. But the Macedonian revolutionaries are not bashibozouks, or mercenaries, that they can hire themselves to this or that power and point their rifles in the direction in which this or that war ministry tells them to.

They are Macedonian revolutionaries who have dedicated their lives to the cause of Macedonian liberty, they are sworn over an open Bible upon which are crossed a pistol and a dagger and they point their rifles in the direction in which the interests of Macedonia dictate. Macedonia is the only authority they recognize. And the Macedonian revolutionary organization is strong because it derives its strength from the Macedonian people and from the justice of the Macedonian cause, while the strength and justice of the Macedonian cause spring from the principle of independence, the independence of Macedonia. You sell out to a foreign power and the Macedonian cause becomse hollowed out of its justice and cannot rely upon the sympathy of any person that believes in justice and liberty.

* * *

Some of you may be wondering why it is that Imro has not taken any active measures to counteract the anti-Macedonian campaign of the Bulgarian dictatorship. I myself spent days with the comitadjis in the mountains before and after the establishment of the dictatorship. I was with them in the hills while down in the valleys and in the villages the Bulgarian army officers flayed and tortured the population. I know how anxiously some of these men were to swoop down to the villages, or creep down stealthily if need be, and give these officers that paraded their heroism before the poor innocent folk a chance to show their military prowess, but they did not go down, for they act under orders, and there was the restraining hand of their leader. They could not follow their impulse, they lay hidden in the forests, biding their time, and knowing full well that the destiny of Imro was in firm hands. Imro does not pitch itself in open battle with a hostile national army simply because it has been

provoked. Regardless of provocations or temperamental urgings of the moment, it never plunges into anything without prolonged and cold deliberation. For Imro does not exist for the moment alone, it has to exist so long as Macedonia is in bondage, it will have to be alive when the dictatorship passes out into oblivion. It would be sheer foolishness to throw its entire strength against the national army of Bulgaria and thus decimate its ranks. There is no more reason why it should come out in the open and engage in warfare with Bulgaria than there is for coming out openly in Yugoslavia or in Greece. Imro will strike in its own way when the time comes, and those that now send reports that Imro is dissolved, disbanded, will have to eat the paper upon which their statements are printed. Most people think that because some ammunition has been confiscated the Organization has been killed. The strength of Imro is not in its ammunition, nor in its large numbers, but in its invulnerability, in its invisibility. Imro is indestructible. It is an invisible organism, and this organism exists like air everywhere and no one knows when and whence the next expression of Imro's viability will come. Sometime Imro can manifest its might more effectively with a single act, carried out by a single man, than by a series of skirmishes or battles in the open with any of the armies of the three hostile nations against which it operates. And even if Imro did pass out of existence, its ghost would keep frightening the enemies of Macedonia for at least a generation. As for the Bulgarian dictatorship, it is a mere flea-bite in the epic Macedonian movement which has passed through so many vicissitudes and still survived. The Macedonian comitadjis will shake these pests off as they, in their prowlings through Macedonia, often stop and take their shirts off to shake off the vermin in a crackling fire.

Nationalism, Minorities and Macedonia

DR. EDGAR J. FISHER received his A.B. and A. M. degrees from the University of Rochester, and his Ph. D. in History and Political Science from Columbia University. In all the crowded centuries of the life of the Near East, there were no more rapidly changeful years than the two decades from 1913 to 1933, the very years when Dr. Fisher was a professor at Robert College, Istanbul (Constantinople). During most of this time, he was also Dean of this important American institution. There followed a period of residence at the American University of Beirut, Syria, with travel and study in the Arab lands.

Since 1935, Dr. Fisher has been the Assistant Director of the Institute of International Education in New York City.

Close contact and work with the peoples of the Near East, study and

observation in Central and Eastern Europe and Western Asia, frequent periods of teaching while on sabbatical leave or during summers in American universities, and experience in the field of international education in the United States and abroad, have contributed to give Dr. Fisher an appreciation and understanding of the fundamental need for cooperation between the Orient and the Occident. Among the American institutions where he has given courses in his special fields are Columbia University, the University of Rochester, Stanford University, the School of Citizenship of Syracuse University, the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Berea College (Kentucky), and Chautauqua Institution, Chautauqua, New York.

Dr. Fisher delivered his address before the 14th Annual MPO Convention September 1, 1935, at Akron, Ohio.

FACED with the story of past and present conditions in Macedonia, it is only the most callous person, whose heart does not respond with mingled feelings of sympathy and an outraged sense of justice, and who would not seek to make any contribution, however slight, toward a better future for that land. There is doubtless no other part of the European continent, that has been subjected to such a merciless battle of physical violence and pressure propagandas, more persistently exercised over a long period of time. At times it appeared that some settlement making for tolerably improved conditions was on the way, or indeed actually negotiated. Such hopes have then been frustrated by the fickle and unstable conditions of politics in Europe. Strange fate it is that the justifiable aspirations of the Macedonian people for an expression of their rights, should have been thwarted by the perverted nationalisms of other peoples.

It is seriously open to question if there is any other political ideal so easily given to distortion and perversion as that of nationalism. The feeling of nationality, held by people of common ideas, language and traditions, has often developed sentiments of great value and dignity. But history shows numerous cases of groups, that having satisfied their own sense of national unity measureably well, then oppress and trample upon the rights of others. Current militaristic nationalism, with an appetite for and a will to power, has turned the bent or force of nationality from its liberal tendency to the Left, which characterized it in the period before the Great War, to a definite reactionary force on the extreme Right in this post-War period. The result is that militarist national States oppress other peoples, as did the autocratic despotisms of old. For instance, an Italy of Mazzini, that struggled gloriously to safeguard the best ideals of nationality has given way to an Italy of Mussolini, that has sought forcibly to deprive thousands of Austrians in the Tyrol of their cultural heritage, and now seems bent upon crushing the independence of the Ethiopian State in Africa. A Serbia that struggled for its own independence in the 19th Century has become a hard, centralized Yugoslavia, the willing agent for the oppression of others. Unfortunately there are too many other similar illustrations. Gladstone is credited with uttering the sage truth that what is morally wrong can never be politically right.

Whether we like it or not we are living in an international world in which the nations of all the continents are inextricably bound together. This is as true as it is trite. But our nationalisms are failing us, because they are trying to escape the implications of this international world by extreme national planning, both political and economic. The spirit of current nationalism has become increasingly crude, inconsiderate and aggressive. It is quite apt to condemn in others what it approves in itself. The great problems since the World War have stubbornly resisted solution largely because of the unyielding and uncompromising spirit of the great nation States of today. For example, political security for France or for other nations has not been attained, and we are now dangerously near another Balance of Power line-up in Europe which, if consummated, will inevitably spell war. The competitive nationalisms have also checked the reasoned limitation of armaments. They have prevented an orderly revision of the peace treaties, that were forced upon the losers in humiliation and duress, leaving bitter resentments and memories. The great economic problems, such as the war debts and reparations, have plunged the last decade-and-a-half, with the nations trying to box themselves in isolated units of economic nationalism, while the world stagnated in the midst of plenty. These failures are due to nationalist practices, and an unwillingness to pursue policies of international cooperation.

But not only failing in practice, the philosophy of nationalism is emphasizing more crudely than ever before certain assumptions and tendencies, which the Great War showed very conclusively to be false. This perhaps is sufficient to explain the repeated failures. Some States are reverting to the preposterous ideas that culture can be satisfactorily imposed upon others by force. The valid elements of a culture can only be appreciated and passed on, but cannot be forced upon others. Persisting also is the faulty belief that war develops the courage and virility of a nation; but this ignores the fact that the martial nations have never endured, and that it is honest labor and thrift, rather than the pilfering of others, that gives true strength. If "might makes right" then Poland, and other nationalities that suffered oppression have or had no title to rise again. The ideal of nationalism assumes the protection, the safeguarding of a culture, of a national group, but militarized and imperialized nationalism presumes that each nation is an aggressive rival of the other, that necessity is above law and justice, that force is a final solvent for disputes, and that the State is an end in itself, without social purposes for and moral responsibilities to the individuals over whom it exercises grinding jurisdiction. It is such a philosophy that has been hardening the relations of nations before our very eyes, at a time when the world has been in the process of developing a finer plan for international cooperation than had ever existed before.

The relation of nationalism of this type to the problem of ethnic minorities is obvious. The minorities are subjected to inexcusable persecutions, cruel denials of justice, and unwarranted attempts at assimilation. In scientific terms a minority is "a distinct ethnic group with an individual and cultural character living within a State which is dominated by another nationality." In popular terms a minority might be defined as a group within a State which does not feel at home. In the sense of both of these definitions, scientific and popular, the Macedonians constitute a minority in Greece and Yugoslavia, whose claims demand and deserve attention. The residents of any State have a right to feel at home, and any State that cannot, or does not, so organize its life that great groups of its citizenry do not feel at home is delinquent and doomed to failure.

Fearful and suspicious that there was much perfection lacking in the newly arranged boundaries of the peace treaties, the statesmen responsible for the boundaries sought to forestall injustices and difficulties by requiring the Succession States of the old Hapsburg Empire, and the Balkan States, including Turkey, to sign Minorities Treaties, designed to protect and guarantee the minorities in their cultural, civil and political rights in these States. These treaties are fundamental laws and international obligations, not to be revoked by simple acts of legislatures. For centuries treaties have contained provisions for the protection of religious and political minorities, but machinery for their operation was never provided. Hence they were valueless. It was earnestly intended that the system of Minorities Treaties inaugurated after the World War should work, and they were put under the supervision of the League of Nations. Machinery was set up for their operation, and a rather elaborate procedure, including conditions for the acceptance of petitions from minorities and definite steps for examining and reporting the petitions, was developed.

The procedure that is now in vogue is open

to serious criticism, and certainly has not worked as satisfactorily as the machinery for the operation of the system of mandates, or the protection of subject peoples in distant places outside the boundaries of a State. The League Council is under no obligation to report a case out of Committee, and more often than not does not do so, certainly in the case of the Macedonians. The Council of the League of Nations is a political body, and States are hesitant to report known violations of the rights of minorities, lest they seem to accuse friendly States. This is a false attitude. The fact that all States are not bound by the obligations of minorities treaties is a great drawback, for the treaties thus lack that universality, which is so essential to effective control in international affairs. If the Minorities Treaties are valid obligations for the Small Powers, or some of them, the Great Powers should set a laudable example by subscribing to them also, in order to increase the range of benefits. If the treaties do not impugn the sovereign rights of the Small Powers, they would not do so in the case of the Great Powers. Probably if all States subscribed to these treaties, they would be more effectively controlled.

Doubtless nothing would give greater protection and security to the minorities, so far as new machinery is concerned than the establishment of a Permanent Minorities Commission of the League of Nations, similar to the Permanent Mandates Commission, which has done such remarkably efficient and impartial work in protecting the rights of people in the different mandated areas. Such a Permanent Minorities Commission would consist of neutral experts, appointed because of their integrity and of their knowledge and ability in the concerns of minorities and their problems. Such a Commission would study and act upon petitions from minorities with sympathy, impartiality and in a spirit of constructive and helpful criticism, both for the minority and the State involved. In time, a body of precedents would be built up, that would have the force of binding regulations, if not of law. It has been said that such a Permanent Minorities Commission is inconsistent with the present treaties. If that is so, the treaties should be revised to better the purposes for which they were designed, and not block progress toward the accomplishment of more effective guarantees and more real protection for the minorities.

The difficulties of establishing adequate machinery for protecting minorities are obvious. These problems are acute in places where governments are unwise, are intolerant, or do not have the will or capacity to make all who dwell in the land feel at home. In such cases machinery may alleviate conditions, but it will not cure them. As L. P. Mair has aptly said, "People cannot be compelled by treaty to love their neighbors; and as long as they continue to hate them, they will devise means of injuring them." It is only when the will to give just treatment and adequate satisfaction is present that crises will be averted and persecutions cease. And then the machinery may be relegated to a museum, becauce it is no longer needed!

Surely Macedonians will be the first to grant that there is an intimate relation between nationalism, minorities, and the conditions which they have been compelled to endure too long. Macedonians suffered oppression and misrule during the long period of Ottoman Turkish power. For almost a half-century before the World War, Macedonia was one of the saddest zones in all the world, due to the clash of conflicting religious and nationalist propagandas that centered in the bleeding heart of the Balkans. The ruthless and ill-considered scrapping of the Treaty of San Stefano by the Powers in 1878, destroyed one of the most hopeful opportunities for the permanent pacification of the Balkans that has ever presented itself. Had the Treaty of San Stefano been allowed to stand, the Balkans might have become a calm and happy area decades ago, and subsequent wars that started in Eastern Europe might have been avoided.

That same happy prospect might have been accomplished, if Article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin of 1878, which provided for an autonomous regime in Macedonia, had been faithfully executed. That no serious attempt was made to execute it was due to the active hostility of the Turks, the inexcusable weakness of the Great Powers, and the fearsome unwillingness of the Balkan countries except Bulgaria, to test out their claims to Macedonia by some other method than violence. The way in which the Powers have manipulated forces in the Balkans to suit their own selfish interests, quite regardless of the welfare of the indigenous populations, has been nothing short of scandalous. And the 20th Century divisions of Macedonian territory have been made by victorious nationalists, after the bitterness and blindness of wars, at a time thus when the ideals of justice for Macedonian national expression have been sacrificed and blurred by the treaty-makers.

There has been no more glaring example of the short-sightedness of perverted nationalism than in the policies of Yugoslavia since the organization of that State at the close of the Great War. The policy of live and let live has seemed to be foreign to the ideas of the Belgrade politicians. This has been pitifully obvious not only in Serbians dealings with the Roman Catholic Croats, but in the persecution of their fellow Eastern Orthodox Macedonians. The Yugoslav Government has almost completely ignored promises, pledges, and responsibilities under the Minorities Treaties. If it is said that others have also been delinquent, that is not proper excuse. All the refinements of unjust indiscrimination have been practiced by the Yugoslavs forcibly to denationalize the Macedonians under their control. What the Macedonian Slavs were originally is of absolutely no importance or relevancy so far as prospects for peace are concerned. That is quite beside the point, and is used as a smoke-screen to avoid doing justly here and now. What is of supreme importance is that Macedonia at long last should be permitted the enjoyment of her national feeling and life, and to fellowship with those with whom she feels most akin. How stupid it is that the authorities of that aggrandized Serbia, called Yugoslavia, should not realize how much better it would be for her, if her minorities pledged loyalty to Yugoslavia in their own vernaculars, rather than cursed Yugoslavia in the Serbian tongue. The country that crushes out the liberties of others, ultimately crushes its own freedom.

The embittered character of the relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, both South Slav States, has been due almost exclusively to the Macedonian question. That thousands of discontented and persecuted Macedonians sought refuge on Bulgarian soil should have taught the Serbians that something was dangerously wrong. In the months before King Alexander's assassination, there was hope that conditions were about to improve. The Bulgarian Government sought to correct the situation along the borders by preventing illegal acts and border violations, but Yugoslavia failed to do her part satisfactorily by applying faithfully the terms of the Minorities Treaties, which she had signed. The lesson to be learned from Alexander's murder, that healthy and free cooperation between the component parts of the country is necessary for the welfare of the State, and for the peace of Europe, has apparently not yet been learned.

It is with considerable hesitation that I come to make certain suggestions and voice some hopes for the future. Certainly from what has just been mentioned, no accusation of a lack of understanding the cruel hardships and bitter injustices to which the Macedonians have been subjected can be made. The following suggestions are made by a Westerner, conscious of the deep wrongs that have been committed by nationalist power politics to the detriment of the Balkan peoples, but who is hopeful for a better future. They are made by one who has worked among and for the welfare of the different peoples of the Near East since before the Great War, who holds them in sympathetic esteem and regard, who is happy to count valued friendships among all of these peoples, and who cherishes the hope that the Balkan populations will have the wisdom to rise superior to their past rivalries and divisions, and will be persuaded that friendly cooperation with others and a regard for the rights of others is an indispensable condition of national growth.

In the first place, under the authority of the Minorities Commission of the League of Nations, or if a specially organized Commisssion, an impartial opportunity should be given to Macedonia to vote for an autonomous or independent future status. Various alternatives may be presented in a plebiscite. Among such are autonomy under one of the Balkan States, erection as in indepenDen Balkan State, or a special mandated country under the League of Nations over an indeterminate or determined period until Macedonia can stand alone "under the strenuous conditions of the modern world," as runs the phrase in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The question of the area to be included in the plebiscite zone would have to be determined by mutual agreement of the States immediately concerned in cooperation with some impartial authority. Agreement would be difficult, as would also the decisions upon other important details. But this would not be impossible, as witness the fact that after the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, a Commission drew up a plan for an autonomous Macedonia under the Turkish Sultan. It is conceded that the task would be more difficult now, because of the accumulations of injustices and hard feelings that have taken place in the last half-century. But on the other hand, experts have had more experience in working out the technique of plans for such difficult international situations. If a plan cannot be de-

vised, it is another proof that statesmanship in our time is practically barren and bankrupt.

Secondly, if and when an independent Macedonia is created, the new political entity should be permitted, nay perhaps should be required, to join any cooperative union of the Balkan States that is organized. The Balkan people themselves, to say nothing of the outside world, have little appreciation of the services rendered by some of their courageous leaders in trying to overcome prejudices through the Balkan Conference Movement during the last few years. It is now quite obvious, however, that an effective Balkan Pact will not be realized until the conditions are present, which make it possible for Bulgaria to join. No Balkan Pact will be worthy of the name, as long as any single important Balkan State is excluded from it, or feels that it cannot honorably, or with safety, join. Just as permanently satisfactory relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia wait upon a reasonable solution of the Macedonian problem, so the correction of the fatal defect of the present Balkan Pact, caused by the abstention of Bulgaria, waits upon the same solution. Unsolved, unhappy Macedonia eats like a cankerous growth into the potential well-being of the entire Balkan area. Cure this sore, and a true Balkan Pact of all the States in the peninsula is possible, with a resulting healthful influence upon Balkan relations.

In the third place, it should be recognized by the Great Powers that the Minorities Treaties have failed miserably to protect the Macedonian minorities in Greece and Yugoslavia. It is of no avail for States to argue and claim that certain minorities do not exist. When a group is coerced and persecuted, and does not feel at home under the authority of the political flag where it lives, or to which it has been assigned, it is a minority in fact, if not in race. And it is the fact that is decisively important. The problem will persist, the sore will continue to run, until the aggrieved group does feel at home, either because of the changed attitude of the formerly erring State, because the group has gone over to the flag of another State, or because it has succeeded in gaining its freedom under a flag of its own. Some method should be found, and be increasingly demanded by the Macedonians and their friends in all lands, so that the petitions of the Macedonian minorities will have a proper hearing at Geneva. One of the most constructive steps in this direction would be the establishment of a permanent Minorities Commission of the League of Nations, with reasonable freedom for action.

Fourthly, I am convinced that the welter of bloody violence that has marked the decades of struggle in Macedonia has done untold harm and has blocked the settlement of the question. Certainly coercion and violence have not solved anything. I believe that this is true whether the blood and treasure has been spilled because of the treachery of the Great Powers, because of the political and religious rivalries of the Balkan States in perverting the true spirit of nationalism, because of the massacres under the Old Turks or the Young Turks of the Ottoman period, or because of the activities of the Macedonian organizations acting as a unit against others, or in unhappy disunion among themselves. After all, physical violence is the breakdown of reason, whether in the life of the individual, the municipality or the nation. The temptation to violence is understandable, especially when the injustices have been so very crude, so persistent, and so loud that they have echoed and re-echoed through the valleys and over the mountains of the land of the Vardar. But the Macedonian cause has been injured by persistent association with violence. War and violence are now on the defensive; they are seen not to be inevitable; they are recognized as futile by an increasingly large number of thinking men and women. Hence, even if there are those who continue to risk the opprobrium of a rising tide of social opposition to violence, the presumption is against it, and the cause which now resorts to it is thereby weakened. Every possible honorable agency, short of violence, which can be devised to further the cause of justice for the Macedonians should be encouraged as giving promise of progress. Every resort to aggressive violence should be avoided as baneful to the cause. Violence begets violence, and it does not beget anything else!

Finally it is obvious that the foregoing suggestions depend upon certain changed and new spiritual attitudes. These can be brought about only by patience, conciliation and the willingness to cooperate. It should be recognized that the improved relationships between any two countries in the Balkans, notably between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, will ultimately react favorably upon the fate of Macedonia. This implies naturally a chastened and reformed Yugoslavia, more prone to grant than crush out the liberties and rights of others. Greece should likewise realize that a

friendly and happy Macedonian area would redound much more to her peace and prosperity, than the confusion of the last years. All, whether in or out of the Balkans, should realize that an independent Macedonia would not threaten the security or endanger the just rights of any other State. It certainly could not make Balkan conditions worse, and every consideration of logic, reason and justice indicate that the well-being of all concerned would be vastly improved. The fulfillment of those conditions would give reasonable promise of such general contentment in the Balkans, as has not been known there in the memory of modern man! All of the above is offered with the desire that there will be a finer and happier future for all of the Balkan peoples.

In conclusion I would reaffirm a deep and abiding conviction. It is that small national groups, whether organized as formal States or not, have absolutely no safety in the international world, except in an orderly community of nations based upon law and order, and committed to the avoidance of physical violence. The Macedonians should strengthen and aid the accomplishment of such an orderly community of nations not only because it will ultimately bring justice to their own cause, but also because it will be the salvation of other oppressed peoples as well, by undermining the supports of the oppressors. It is my earnest hope that the United States of America will soon come to recognize, and before it is too late, that its most eminent service in the international field in this particular era will be to assist actively in the orderly organization of the world for peace, and thereby stand sponsor in part for the security of small nations.

Half a League Onward

MAJOR WILFRID HEIGHINGTON, K. C. was born in Toronto, Ont., Canada. During 1915 he enlisted the 35th Canadian Battalion; in 1916 transferred to the 20th Canadian Battalion having war service in Belgium and France, where after two years of war duty, he was wounded. Promoted Captain on January 1, 1918. After the World War Major Heighington took active part in the political life of Toronto and was elected member of the Toronto Parliament in 1929; re-elected as such in 1934. In private life Major Heighington practiced law until last year when he enlisted again in the Canadian Army Army as Major.

Major Heighington delivered his address before the 16th Annual MPO Convention September 5, 1937, at Indianapolis, Indiana.

IT IS a high privilege to address the Annual Convention of this Association. It is a privilege because of the compliment it implies, in that one whose racial origin is other than your own is asked to express himself with regard to the ideals and ambitions which you, of different origin, hold so dearly to heart and which are so deeply rooted in the homeland you love, the future of which your Association is determined to foster.

You may wonder, and I have wondered, too, why it is that a casual lawyer, a rather ineffectual politician, a ponderous old soldier like myself, should have this honor extended to him. The only answer I can give to you is that, in the great British Dominion to the north of you, and more particularly in my native Province of Ontario, your Association has already definitely established itself and, consistently with its exemplary citizenship and firm loyalty to our Sovereign, is making marked headway towards the accomplishment which all Macedonians have at heart. In the course of those activities, it has been my high privilege, as well as my duty as a Member of Parliament, to learn the objects of your Association, to mingle personally with your comrades, and, to the extent of my ability, to lend what services I could command towards the lawful advancement of the objects of your Association. Through this service I have been enabled to form some of the most pleasant friendships in my experience, to have about me a sympathy and understanding better than I deserve, and to work, in common with you, for the preservation of peace and amity in your homeland and in my own.

Thus, while I feel a very definite abashment in coming here to speak to you, I can as definitely say that I feel thoroughly at home amongst Macedonian people and such an appreciation of all the kindness and support shown to me by them in my own land that, when the invitation was extended to me, I simply had no other thought than to accept.

You have been informed that I would speak to you about the responsibility of the League of Nations in regard to minorities and in regard to smaller nations. You have also been given the

title to what I have to say, which I trust will be found appropriate—"Half a League Onward."

In having chosen as the title for my address the words "Half a League Onward" I do not imagine that any of you will have much difficulty in catching its significance. You all remember the poem by the great Lord Tennyson on the subject of the most gallant but misguided action on the part of the British cavalry during the Russian war of 1854, now known to every school boy as "The Charge of the Light Brigade." The opening words of that poem are these—

"Half a league, half a league,
Half a league onward,
All in the valley of Death
Rode the six hundred."

Now you will at once probably say what on earth has that poem to do with the aims and objects of your Organization, and what kind of a fellow is this who comes all the way from Canada merely to recite to us poems about glamorous incidents in forgotten British wars.

Well, I hasten to add that the words I have quoted really have a significance for this occasion, and, though originally written in a different sense and for an entirely different purpose, they now prove to have, in another sense, and for another purpose, considerable interest for those who, like yourselves, have at heart the welfare of minority peoples in Europe.

In the poem the word "league" comprised three statute miles and, for the charge of the Light Brigade in 1854, that was no doubt appropriate. When, in 1937, I quote the same word "league" you will have seen that I mean the League of Nations or rather the "half a league," the very obvious half a league, or worse, which we have had since the Great War, in which the action or lack of action, though just as gallant in purpose, has, we must all admit, been just as futile in achievement as the Charge of the Light Brigade.

I want to say at once that I do not now, and never did, think much of the League of Nations. For many years, because of my views, I felt somewhat out of step in this field, because so many people thought the League of Nations was great and that, like the King, it could do no wrong. At the risk of sounding rather priggish, I take some pleasure in noting that my views, and the views of those that shared my outlook, are being vindicated day by day. To put it in plain words the thing is a flop—a complete flop. Just what might have happened had the United States supported the League I find is not necessary to discuss, because, whatever criticism might be directed at the United States, that country can at least boast that it has not indulged in the widespread fatuity and claptrap with which long-winded theorists attempted to prove that the League could acquire a practical and effective dominance in world affairs.

Thus, the title of my address. Instead of a League, a league that would be both judicial and sovereign, we got something very much less than that, we got a forum for intellectual windbags and the theorist who praises "All centuries but this, and every country but his own."

In other words we did not get a League; we got something very much less than a league; and perhaps I am complimentary in calling it "half a league." In any event there it is. The Ruhr is there to rebuke it. Ethiopia is there to rebuke it. Spain and Japan are there to rebuke it. What has it to its credit outside of pious but unenforceable labor conventions and an annual assemblage of hopelessly impracticable oratory? The thing has not real accomplishments at all. Every time its machinery and purpose have been challenged or put to the test, it has simply got nowhere. It just starts talking endlessly and writing notes—and those to whom the talking and writing are addressed go blithely on their course—just as if there were no League at all.

Imagine it, in the Ethiopian crisis, diplomats adverse to Italy saying "we do not see fit to apply sanctions, but we definitely decline to recognize the occupation of Ethiopia by Italy." It is something like saying "we admit that Notre Dame got six touchdowns against California's none, but we don't approve of Notre Dame and therefore will not admit they won."

In Spain what has the League accomplished? Of all the opportunities presented since the League was formed, no greater opportunity for real service has appeared. When the crisis of Ethiopia and Spain arose, what was the attitude of the great nations? Something like that of the heroic husband who said "I would cheerfully sacrifice all my wife's relatives for an ideal"—only in this case the sacrifice of the supporting nations was to be nothing more than the British Navy—and had the United States been in the League, too, it would no doubt have included the American Navy as well.

To those from Australia I say it might have meant their navy as well. For Canadians, however, is no such peril, for the last time I heard

of the Canadian Navy it was locked up in a garage in Halifax.

You remember Kipling's lines—

"There lives a widow in Chester

And she mourns for her only son,"—

that's what it would have meant — widows in England through the use of the martial strength of one nation to enforce a "collective security" which was neither collective or secure.

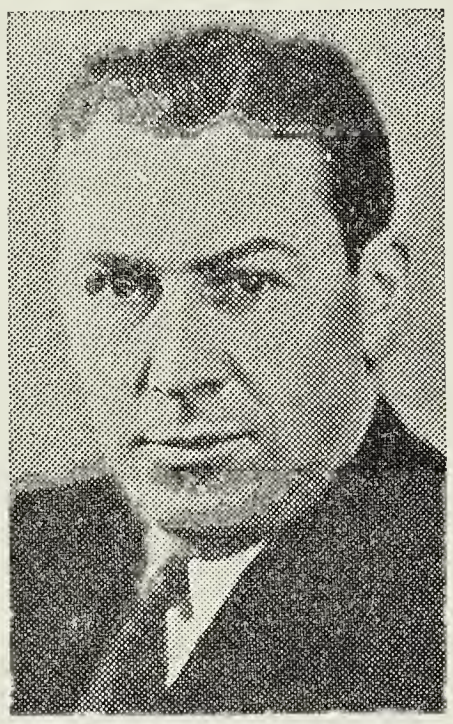
You all remember that extract from the Scriptures, something to this effect, "And lo, when the table was set, they all began with one accord to make excuse." Such has been the case with the League of Nations. As the United States has remained scrupulously aloof from the activities of the League those here of American origin will probably take no exception when I say that if there has been one nation that has made a genuine effort to make effective the ideals and objects of the League, at a considerable risk to herself, it is Great Britian and had the other great powers in the League displayed an equal sincerity and exposed themselves to equal risk, it is certain that such developments as the occupation of the right bank of the Rhine, the farcical conquest of Ethiopia, the seemingly endless and futile carnage in Spain, and the present crisis between Japan and China, might well have been averted.

I have taken the trouble to outline these deficiencies in the League in order that I might bring you back to the point which seems to me to be the basis of so much of the trouble in Europe and in the world today—and it is at this point that the Macedonian viewpoint comes into play. Anything which, at the outset, is fundamentally unsound, cannot be expected to prosper under the inexorable grinding of human affairs and world events. You have only to look at Aberhart in Alberta to obtain an example of that. I say that the League of Nations was established on an unsound basis. Like many people in my audience, I've read the reminiscences and memoirs of every important soldier and diplomat, living or dead, who had to do with the deliberations of those post-war years which led to the establishment of the various treaties and the creation of the League itself. What strikes me about them is the almost indecent haste with which decisions were reached and, in some cases, the wholly one-sided picture that was adopted with reference to some of the greater problems. Read the memoirs of Sir Esme Howard, one time British Ambassador to the United States, now Lord Howard of Penrith and you will gather from his Lordship's own words, the obvious superficiality, the failure to give adequate hearing to all parties or interests the dignified but obvious "passing the buck" which marked the actions of the various commissions which were sent out by the League to settle local problems.

One of these problems, and, I fear, approached and dealt with in the same manner, was that of the rights of the Macedonian people. To you who know so much better than I what has transpired as a result of the decisions of the League with regard to those rights, I do not need to enlarge upon the effect of the decisions then reached. I am not here, however, to suggest to you that hatred, violence or force can provide you with a remedy. In the first place, ever since the days when professional armies settled these disputes, with freedom of movement and traditional observance of rigid codes established by years of war, days that have disappeared, war, once declared, never seems to end and never seems to pay. Modern war not only seems never to end but it never seems to accomplish anything. In the great war, for instance, the allied armies smashingly defeated the German army in the field and accomplished the complete and abject surrender of the German fleet — the second greatest navy in the world. For this result all credit must go to the soldiers, sailors and airmen of the Allies. To the pacifists, who oppose all kinds of warlike effort, it should be pointed out that it is the warriors who actually bring about results but it is the politicians, the diplomats, and the pacifists who throw away the results and destroy everything that the sacrifice has brought to pass. This, I think, and the absence of any sovereign collective force is the very secret of the failure of the League of Nations and the reason why the victory brought about by the Allies in the Great War not only did not bring an end to war but has led and is leading us into wars anew.

So, in conclusion, it is not for me to hold forth any rosy picture for you towards the accomplishment of the purposes of your Organization. I do know, however, that you are proceeding in the right way. Just as, in the United States, in Australia, and in Canada, the merits of your cause are at last beginning to be appreciated, so will the effect of your activities gradually spread into enlightened and authoritative circles in Europe, whereby, in the end, and at long last, you will accomplish the purpose so adequately expressed in the motto of your Organization "Justice."

Mankind and Minorities



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Rev. Lehman delivered his address before the 17th Annual MPO Convention September 4, 1938, at Buffalo, N. Y.

IN ACCEPTING the flattering invitation of your committee to speak to you upon this great occasion, the 17th annual Congress of Macedonian Political Organizations of the United States, Canada, and Australia, I am forced to confess, for candor compels the confession, that I feel at once proud and humble in having this invitation extended to me; proud because I feel deeply the honor bestowed upon me in that I may count you among my many friends, and humble in the knowledge that although I may realize to some degree the problems confronting you people of Macedonian extraction, still you who are so much closer to the whole vexing situation know so much more about it than I do.

In searching about for the means of progressing with this subject, "Mankind and Minorities," I finally came to the conclusion that were I to approach this topic merely from a sentimental and romantic point of view, we would have at the conclusion nothing but a wishy-washy essay. So, before I have finished, I sincerely hope you will have discovered that I have made an attempt to be scientific and not sentimental, realistic and not romantic in the treatment of this whole heart-rending matter.

One need not go far nor search long to discover that the people of the world are living today in a spirit of defeatism and disillusionment. Nor does one need to go far nor search long to discover the reason for this. For the attitudes which have developed are not merely the attitudes and reactions of a few scattered people in segregated quarters of the earth, but are the attitudes and reactions common to all people everywhere.

Any event of any great or even little significance can best be judged as to its effect upon the welfare of people, after a number of years have elapsed. A large picture is always seen to best advantage at some distance away from the wall on which it hangs. Thus it is also with historical events. Some event or incident which at the moment of its occurrence, by its very dramatic appeal, blinds the vision and stunts the mind, may in later years when the dramatic is forgotten and the vision clarified, reveal its narrowness, horror, and injustice. Such a disillusionment which at

the time appealed to many because it had in it the romantic and the dramatic, was laid upon the world at the time of the close of the World War, in what we know today as the Versailles Treaty of Peace.

Whatever may have been the aims and the purposes of that Peace Conference in 1919, *no matter how cleverly or how intriguingly the real purposes were hidden from the eyes of a war-ridden world at that time, the results of that instrument as we know them today, are clearly before us. We are reaping just what we sowed.* America had entered the war, as no one can deny, in a spirit of an active international mission. Ours in America was to make the world safe and a decent place in which to live and move and have one's being. Generally speaking, in America we wanted to make this world safe for other nations, no matter what color, race, or creed. But in particular, we were deeply interested in the smaller and the weaker nations. These struggling minor nations were to know that a champion had finally arrived on the field of battle who was ready to lay down his life, not for conquest, but in order that they might endure. We fought hard. Millions of men bled and millions of men died. And then eventually we achieved success in what we hailed at that time as a victory for democracies. At that moment we thought of ourselves as a great saviour, for we had, we sincerely felt, saved the world. *In subsequent years, however, we have discovered that we saved nothing, but actually lost everything. That new world and that finer tomorrow for which men had fought had somehow eluded their grasp. And today it is nowhere to be seen or noted. It never came into realization. The birth-pangs which the world suffered during the war, and the post-war period, are not to be compared with the disappointment a belabored world experienced when the child of peace was born and proved to be a child still-born.*

For in those post-war days world statesmanship degenerated into cheap tawdry ward-heeling political maneuvering in which a small coterie of diplomatic lawyers representing various national interests, charged with formulating a world peace of hope and justice, were so blinded by their quasi-intellectual political brillance that instead of formulating a peace worthy of the name with a heart of justice, fashioned it instead with an eye of greed.

And now as we in America look back upon those days immediately after the war and particularly to those days early in 1920, we see our beloved Columbia standing at that World Peace Table, firmly grasping the Stars and Stripes in one hand and holding the proverbial bag in the other. *That day American statesmanship represented by a true statesman, Woodrow Wilson, was betrayed by European strategy.* And the people of the United States have not yet forgotten that.

Bulwer Lytton once wrote, "The pen is mightier than the sword." The truth of that statement is now self-evident as we gaze upon a world scene so chaotic and soul-trying that it chills the very soul of mankind. For the student of scientific peace is compelled to recognize the undeniable truth that because of the writing of the Versailles Peace Pact, more destruction has been wrought, more hatred has been bred, more tears have been shed than ever resulted because of conflicts on all the battle fields of the world. And all because the pen that signed the pact was dipped in the well of the heart of hate.

For when that great combat ceased on a visible battlefield, because an armistice had been successfully effected, the conflict continued elsewhere nevertheless. The scene of action was merely shifted from a battlefield into a building. It was diverted from the outside to the inside where a more sinister and more deally battle was begun and fought in a mis-named Hall of Peace. *Where once the soldier openly beheld the weapon of the enemy in all its ghastly horror, the so-called statesmen now battles secretly. 'Tis true, not with sword, gun, nor cannon, but with weapons more deadly—with minds sharp, shrewd, and sinister. Where the soldier dealt death openly across no man's land, now statesmen dealt death secretly underneath a peace table.* Oh, yes, an armistice had come. The world was again at peace. But joy and happiness were to be short lived. E'er long that same peace table was to become a bartering counter across which human beings were to be bought and sold like so much cattle. Oh yes, the sword and the gun had been laid away, but now blandishments of words and intrigue were to continue the war. The whistling and whining bullets mowing down human beings had ceased, but a far greater war was now to begin of which not only millions of men, women, and children as well, were soon to be victims, and because of which thousands of unborn children were to be damned to a life of subjection and humility. Still more, that pact so ruthless, so oppressive, so inhuman was within

the comparatively short time of twenty years to prick the body of the entire world and drain the rich life-giving blood out of an already anaemic world, not only of the conquered, but of the conqueror as well.

Since the ratification of this peace pact made by that unholy alliance of ambition and cupidity, it has given birth to emnity, rancor, distrust, ill-will, and bitterness, all of them the bad-tempered children of the union of greed and acquisition, who have robbed people of their God - given rights, cherished homes, traditional names, and even their own native language.

And so this afternoon I speak in behalf of those who since the war have become the victims of a tyrannical imperialism which in its forward march is trying to shrivel the souls and batter the bodies of minorities in its effort to crush the hopes and aspirations of a great and valiant people in its struggle for freedom.

I

THE AIMS AND ASPIRATIONS OF A WORLD AT WAR

May I rehearse once more, to freshen your memories, those motivating stakes for which men fought and bled and died in that great holacaust two decades ago. How well some of us remember them for the brilliance of their aims and purposes burned into our souls like the rays of the sun penetrating the blackness of a dense forest.

(1) Right as the basis of all human association in public as well as in private affairs.
(2) A guarantee of the weak against the lawless aggression of the strong. (What might be said about this today.)
(3) A lasting peace in which a non-militant democracy might develop. (How hollow that sounds today, only twenty years later.)

Yet, during the war, such were the flaming phrases incorporated in international conversations and in brilliant State Papers; they were the substance of diplomatic aspirations and the hopes of the down-trodden. The average citizen, no matter what race or nationality felt that his time on the battle fiield was well spent. He trusted implicitly those in the seat of authority in those soul - trying days and accepted as soul - soaring principles those democratic doctrines and moving motives. He felt at the close of the war that he had done his job well and that High Heaven smiled upon his achievement. But today, only twenty years later, the curtain is drawn, the stage is all set, our vision is clear and now we see the principal actors just for what they were and did, for it has become increasingly more obvious, that self-seeking forces of political plunder at that time played upon the weaknesses of an emotionally aroused people. We sense today that the soldier of war was betrayed by the politician of peace; we know that this pact designed to give life in reality dealt death to victor and vanquished alike; we realize that Pact today to be but a hollow mockery, laughing jeeringly at those whose confidences were betrayed by a world gone cheap because it had lost its soul.

II

THE STRONG AND THE WEAK

Now, the peace of the world depends upon the recognition by the strong of the rights and privileges of the weak. The insecurity of the weak in Europe is a constant threat to the security of the strong, no matter on what continent or hemisphere the strong may be found. Mankind with its evolving and constantly increasing purpose is of vastly more importance than the political nationalistic interests of any power which constantly threatens the peace of the world. *Because a people constitute a minority and is relatively weak from a military point of view, does not necessarily mean, that, therefore, it must surrender all holy and reverend loyalties to the majority which happens to be in a position to dictate at that moment.* Minorities too have inalienable rights and mankind if it desires to advance civilization and feel secure in that progress must guarantee those rights to the minority.

Minority problems are vexing problems. When the Versailles Peace-makers reshaped the map of Europe according to the formula of the self-determination of peoples, it necessitated drawing many new boundaries. *Subsequently it has become evident that the formula employed in establishing these new frontiers has grown into a hydra-headed beast fed on the fruits of insecurity, fear, and distrust. These boundaries fixed arbitrarily by that peace commission have proved to be prison bars rather than national boundaries.*

It is most astounding to realize the extent of new boundaries created at that time. And the tragedy of it all is that practically every new mile of boundary created a new problem. Even prior to the World War Europe was having sufficient

trouble with its four thousand miles of frontiers. Hence, is it any wonder that inasmuch as the Peace Conference created six thousand miles more of national boundaries it should have created proportionately more trouble? Because of this rearrangement of boundaries we have in Europe today nearly forty millions of peoples who find themselves nervous, distracted, and not infrequently oppressed, whom we know and speak of as minorities, often living under governments not at all to their liking, and having forced upon them a foreign faith, a foreign culture, yes, even a foreign language. This situation has created in Europe the most inflammable element. Strained feelings are bound to develop, even though protection may be accorded the minority group by the laws of the State in which it finds itself, laws which are not generally executed, or it may be dependent upon international treaties and guarantees by foreign powers or the League of Nations which are not very observant. Ten treaties directly concerned with minorities emerged from that peace conference.

Limited time does not permit us to delve into them. However, suffice to say, that one of these ten treaties definitely affected your people. The Treaty of Neuilly, Articles 49-57 signed at Neuilly - sur - Seine, November 27, 1919, and placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations on October 22, 1920, created for you most heart-rending problems. The full significance of the extent of these problems not only you, but the world at large is just now beginning to realize. *With courts functioning perfunctorily, prisons filled with political refugees, with suicide rather than submission not uncommon, with the Macedonian language forbidden and the folk songs denied, life in your fatherland has become insecure and dreadful to say the least, but despite all of this, Macedonian-consciousness has not been destroyed. A people with a will to live cannot be subjected even by force and violence, for such a people knows not how to die.* .

III

HUMANITY'S RESPONSIBILITY

When then is humanity's responsibility? In spite of a great deal of sympathetic and able work performed by the League of Nations, abuses have developed into constant irritation, keeping all of Europe in constant fear, turmoil and confusion. This situation is prominent particularly in minority groups. The welfare not only of minorities but of majorities as well is affected thereby. The national political and cultural guarantees of humanity at large are strongly affected by the reaction of the minorities of these common abuses. For it is common knowledge that treaty obligations are not being carried out and the League of Nations has not been successful in making effective many of the provisions affecting minority groups. If the rights of minorities are to be safeguarded it becomes incumbent upon mankind in general to guarantee those God-given rights to them. And these rights are no more than those any self-respecting people would ask for themselves. All any minority asks is to be treated in a modern sense of decency.

It might be well to recall to mind the sympathetic public opinion toward minorities as it existed at the time of the World War. The people then felt that they were not so much at war with other people as they were participating in a mighty world-moving crusade. Men were fighting for the right. And right made for might. Men were bleeding and dying that others might live and work and be happy in rearing families in their quiet little farming valleys. But after the conflict was ended and the smoke of battle had lifted, and our emotions again became quieted, our deep-felt concern for the minority gradually died down. From that of a mighty rushing wind it decreased slowly to that of a gentle breeze, until now it is barely felt in many quarters, and not at all in others.

Shall that noble spirit motivating an awakened minority-consciousness die out completely? Shall all the noble impulses of an enlightened people be negated? Shall the torch of liberty and freedom so valiantly carried by those crusaders of a day gone by, flicker and then die out entirely? Shall those noble words and intentions of the twentieth century liberators now be turned to ashes in their mouths? It becomes the task of humanity to re-awaken the world to the purposes for which men once fought, bled, and died. It becomes humanity's task to assume and discharge those obligations for which men died. And the time for this is most propitous right now. Today, more than at any other time in the history of mankind people are making a fight for freedom and liberty. We here in America have it in our blood. We believe it to be a God-given guarantee, a hunger of the spirit of man. Surely a people with pride in its being prefers to live on crusts and water, suffer in exile, languish in dungeons or be burned at the stake rather than surrender the

spirit of freedom which makes them a self-respecting nation. This faith is part and parcel of the American tradition. But that spirit is not limited to our shores alone. Others, even as your people across the sea, share a similar hope and faith. You too believe in liberty and freedom. For you also realize, that man cannot grow in moral stature nor can his life take on dignity and meaning without freedom and liberty.

IV

THE SOLUTION

What then is the solution? Is a solution possible? I believe so. It lies, I believe, in a two-fold procedure: (1) the re-awakening of that spirit so widely prevalent at the time of the World War, a re-awakening of that crusading spirit in behalf of a minority group now shunted about like so many freight cars, and the rededication of mankind to the principle advocated by that great American super - statesman, Woodrow Wilson, who said, "*No right anywhere exists to hand people about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.*" The application of this principle alone would alleviate much of the suffering now endured by those bartered about like cattle. (2) Whereas the first procedure lies in the province of a re-awakened spirit to the aims and purposes of the war to end war, the second procedure is somewhat more general. Yet it is as significant, inasmuch as it takes inventory of man's present aims and purposes in creating and maintaining nationalism. This is a procedure of self-examination of the spirit of prevailing nationalism.

Upon even a casual examination we believe that we are all a part of a great civilization rooted in certain traditions which have been most conducive to mutual helpfulness, and which make a people great. We are many peoples on this earth. We may differ in race, color, and creed, yet our inmost hopes and aspirations are not unlike those of any one else.

Now, what greater contribution could any people make to the general welfare of the human race than to be busy at all times building a distinctive social order and its supporting political, economic, and religious cultures, based primarily on the factor of excellence of attainment rather than possession by power. If a nation were able to do this, and other nations were willing to do so, that nation would soon develop a nationalism so far superior to our present conception and knowledge of nationalism that nations conceived primarily as nations of power and measured by the present common national standard of military and economic might, would soon be shamed into a position of inferiority. But as long as such is not the aim of any nation or nations in general, there will be that constant threat to national existence. The mighty and the bold will take where they can find, and hold as long as they are able. I submit, it is not necessary to do away with the priceless heritage of nationality, but we must begin to purify our present concept of nationalism, unless we are willing for modern civilization and mankind to be annihilated. A world civilization is the net result of three great factors working harmoniously together, the individual, the nation, and mankind. The problem confronting the world today and of which we had better take note is that man must begin to create, develop, and maintain nations that will neither browbeat the individual nor betray humanity. There lies the universal task of today. That can only be accomplished by subjecting political nationalism as we know it today with all its inherent faults to a cultural nationalism that will have nations competing in cultural attainments and excellences instead of military power. Then and then only will nations in general and minorities in particular be able to intensify national genius, minorities will be safe, and the world will be at peace. This, my friends, I submit is not being sentimental but scientific. It is not being romantic but realistic.

V

THE MINORITY'S PART

Now what is the procedure to be followed by the minorities? It is my firm conviction that democracy as we know it today and of which you are so vital a part here in this part of the world, still guarantees to you, more than does any other political form of government those human values which you hold so dear, and which you prize so highly. The anti-democratic forces which are assailing our form of government are really doing us a great service in that they are succeeding in awakening us to the ultimate danger which will befall not only the American people but peoples everywhere, if democracy perishes from the earth. The forces of anti-democracy sting us into an awareness of our own faults and defects. And inasmuch as we know that there is also a limit to the muddling even a democracy can endure

and live, we who love and cherish it will set ourselves as we have never before to the task of purifying our concept of democracy. Said the late Lord Bryce, a devoted adherent to the principles of democracy, "Few are the centuries in which freedom seems safe for a century or two ahead. When the spiritual oxygen which has kept alive the attachment to liberty and self-government in the minds of the people becomes exhausted, will not the flame burn low and flicker out? The thing has happened (in Greece and Rome) and what has happened may happen again."

And so my friends, I plead with you today, you who know what it means to be oppressed, to help maintain the spirit and principle of democracy. From the fall of democracy means those artificial restraints that impede the release of latent creativeness of men and women, and because it seeks to remove these, it will always be the foe of the tyrant. Join with us in America in lifting the cry of that ancient shepherd of Tekoa, "Let justice flow down like rivers and righteousness as the waves of the sea." (Amos 5:24.)

I plead with you today to help us strengthen democracy. For the fall of democracy means the rise of anarchy. The rise of the tyrant means the fall of the individual. No one knows that better than you of Macedonian descent. The salvation of the minority does not lie in the hands of tyrants but in the hands of democracies. The salvation of the minority lies in the security of democracies for in democracy alone does the individual with his private hopes and aspirations and his national cultural pursuits, find a haven of safety.

Macedonians, you will help yourselves by helping America. 'Tis true that democracy too has its limitations. Majority rule too may become perverse. A majority may turn tyrants as it has at times. But majority rule of the democracies when sane and intelligent is yet the best instrument of decision developed for fighting the tyrant.

The Macedonian problem awakens in me a human interest because it is a fight for life itself. Anyone who has inherited the principles of democracy must respect and admire the valiant struggle you are making to have "Macedonia for the Macedonians." And be of good cheer. You are not alone in your battle. You have won many friends. I am thinking at this moment of three of your noble sons who a number of years ago left Macedonia, their home, going to Western Europe to plead the cause of your people, before the League of Nations. Their presentation to the League laying bare the political oppression of the rulers was in itself no more than a plea for the rights accorded minorities in general. It was a noble plea. If it fell on deaf ears at that time it still rings in the ears of such who today seek justice and freedom for the oppressed. The action of those three was but the beginning. Not only League members but friends everywhere heard your call for help. Where only three made their voice audible a number of years ago, today unnumbered friends have taken up the cry. More and more, friends everywhere are responding to your plea because it is for the cause of justice and of freedom. "Macedonia for the Macedonians."

The Rise of the Macedonian Question

PROFESSOR VANGEL K. SUGAREFF was born in Monastir, Macedonia, now in Southern Yugoslavia. He received his early education in his native town, and when he was about thirteen years of age came to the United States. He prepared for college at Mount Hermon School for Boys, Mount Hermon, Mass.; attended the Syracuse University and received his B. A. degree. He was appointed a University Scholar in History at Harvard from which he received his M. A. degree.

Since his graduation from Harvard Professor Sugareff has taught school in West Virginia, Ohio, and Texas. For the last eighteen years he has been connected with the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas where he has been offering courses on European History, American Government, Political Science, and Industrial History of the United States. He has contributed articles to professional and other periodicals, and has traveled extensively both in the United States and Europe. Professor Sugareff served in the United States Army during the World War.

Professor Sugareff delivered his address before the 18th Annual MPO Convention September 3, 1939, as Youngstown, Ohio.

I ACCEPTED the invitation from your Central Committee to speak on this occasion for two reasons—first, because of my academic interest in the Macedonian question, aroused, to be sure, by my experiences as a child in 1903; and second, because I just desired to see some of the old timers, those of us who came to the United States because the Turkish government did not want us there, and also to come in contact with the younger generation of Macedonian immigrants. And I must confess that I am delighted to the sight of such a group as is represented in this hall. Those of us who came to this country in the early years of this century know from experience how to appreciate the rights and privileges which we enjoy in this free country. And I believe that the younger generation of Macedonians in the United States are aware, also, of the meaning of these rights and privileges and that they will assume the responsibility of defending them. If our democracy is worth defending, it is worthy of our utmost sacrifices. At a time like the present, when the tenets of democracy are being challenged by the totalitarian powers, it is nothing short of treason on the part of any individual or group of individuals to stir up hatred among our peoples. The Macedonians, more than any other people in the United States, perhaps, because they have been persecuted for generations—should be glad that a congress of this sort can be held and that they can register protest and petition redress for their suffering co-nationals abroad.

The persecutions to which I referred might well bring us to the topic about which I am to speak, for persecution, direct or indirect, has given rise to the Macedonian question. The roots of the question delve deep beneath the complex ramifications of European jealousies, the cross-purposes and rivalries among the Balkan States and the European powers. It may be safely said that no other section of Europe has suffered so deplorably as a result of international dissensions. The systematic devastation of Macedonia may be attributed mainly to the pre-World War diplomacy of England, Russia, and Austria. For nearly a century and a half Macedonia has figured as a vital international problem, the solution of which would have ensued the peaceful development of

Eastern Europe. During the liberation of the Balkan States, and since the World War, Macedonia has not been a mere geographical expression, but a well established historical entity, and some day it may become a sovereign state or a part of a sovereign state which will recognize the elementary civil political rights of the people. More specifically, however, the roots of the Macedonian question, as we know it, can be traced to Austria and Russia.

Their conflict for supremacy in the Balkans was at once the origin and the evolution of the Macedonian question. England had been the traditional enemy of Russia's Near Eastern policy, but after Austria was forced out of the German confederation by Prussia in 1866 she joined hands with England in opposing Russia. In the Bulgaro-Greek church dispute, during the Bosnia-Hertzegovina Revolution in 1873, in the Andrassy note and the Berlin Memorandum, at the Constantinople Conference in 1876, and at the Berlin Conference in 1878, Austria displayed an active interest in the affairs of the Balkans. And when Austria was assured of Germany's support after 1878, her policy—Drang Nach Osten (urge toward the East)—was suspiciously inaugurated. The Russo-Turkish War (1878) was terminated by the San Stefano Treaty, and article six of this treaty created what is known in history as the Great Bulgaria or Big Bulgaria, in which the whole of Macedonia except the city of Salonica was included. Eugene Schyler, the American Consul General at Constantinople had a share in the formulating the articles of the San Stefano Treaty. Although Austria, Germany, and England knew of the provisions of that treaty before the Turks had seen them, yet all these powers clamored for a revision of the treaty. At Berlin Russia was forced to submit to its revision. The results of the Berlin Congress in 1878 were terrible for all of the Balkan peoples. An independent Rumania and the principality of Bulgaria were created as barriers to Russia's aggression to the Aegean Sea. Austria and Russia were well established as competitors for power in the Balkan Peninsula. Perhaps, the worst diplomatic blunder of the congress was returning the Macedonians to the Turks and entrusting the enforcement of the reforms for Macedonia, which were stipulated in Article 23 of the Berlin Treaty to the two "most interested powers"—Austria and Russia. It became an open secret that so long as these two powers were competing for spheres of influence in the Balkans there would be no peace in Macedonia. Every attempt to promulgate reforms in Macedonia was a lamentable fiasco and the failure to establish reforms in Macedonia made that region an European inferno. Whatever reforms Austria favored, Russia was sure to oppose, or vice versa. Reforms became proverbial of European incompetence. Massacres and revolutions flourished in Macedonia. The Organic "Law of the Vilayetes" (provinces) of 1880 proved of no avail. Though Austria seemed to have a grip on Macedonia and was just waiting to occupy that region, she realized that Russia would have to be compensated for any Austrian advantages in European Turkey. The two rivals could not agree, however, on a division of the spoils (looks like Hitler and Mussolini have the same difficulty), and the only alternative seemed to be the establishment of a truce. In 1897 Austria and Russia agreed to maintain the status quo in the Balkan Peninsula. They also gave to the Sultan a formal promise that they would not interfere in the internal affairs of the Turkish Empire. The Sultan relaxed what little order he had hitherto been inclined to enforce and let loose brigands to prey upon the defenseless population of Macedonia. Abductions, massacres, the burning of villages and crops, was the order of the day.

REVOLT OF 1903

The Macedonian reply to those atrocities was to effect one of the most powerful revolutionary organizations that the Balkans had ever known. Its organization and the revolt of 1903 are in themselves interesting topics for discussion at such a gathering as this but for our purposes today it must be enough to say that it not only challenged and taxed the military power of the Turkish Empire, but it, also, once more attracted the attention of the European powers. Again the two "most interested powers" met at Mursteg and devised a new plan for introducing reforms in Macedonia. The country was divided into five zones. Each zone was supervised by an agent from the five powers and Hilmi Pasha, a Turk, was appointed governor-general over the whole of Macedonia. What few minor reforms were introduced were made ineffective by the jealousies of the five agents. Hitherto there had been only two powers competing for supremacy there, but now there were five powers vying with each other and they used no scruples in inciting the people to fight against each other. Efforts on the part of some English statesmen, headed by Lord Landsowne, to improve the lot of the Macedonians

proved of no avail, for the Young Turkish Party, with its slogan of "Union and Progress," undertook the problem of reforms for the whole Turkish Empire. The Young Turks surprised the whole world with their generous policies toward the subject nationalities. Political, economic, and religious rights were guaranteed to all and these rights were supplemented with the inclusive statement, "We are oll Ottomans." The significance of these words became evident within the course of a few months. The Young Turks inaugurated their policy of Turkification, the result of which was the formation of the Balkan League (1911). The Balkan states threatened with the loss of their co-nationals in European Turkey, buried their differences and united against the common enemy—the Turks. As far as Macedonia was concerned, the outcome of the Balkan Wars and the World War was tragic. Macedonia was divided among three Balkan states: Yugoslavia, Greece and Bulgaria.

MACEDONIA SINCE THE WORLD WAR

The history of the Macedonian question has not changed for the better since the World War. On the contrary, for before 1912 the Macedonians had to contend chiefly with the Turks, a people with whom the Macedonians had nothing in common—as to race, language, religion, and tradition. And yet, be it to the credit of the Turks, the people under their rule enjoyed to some extent political freedom, and the freedom to move about. The present rulers of Macedonia, though they claim to be Christians, and have common racial descent in some cases with the Macedonians, have steadfastly refused to grant them even the simple elementary rights which they had enjoyed under the Turkish rule. It is no wonder then that the old revolutionary organization still exists and carries on the struggle for human rights. History is replete with examples that prove that a nation can not be exterminated by persecution of any kind. All the Balkan nations bear testimony to the endurance of national characteristics despite the fact that they were ruled by the Turks for nearly five hundred years. Ireland and the revival of the Central European states, whose independence is being destroyed by their powerful neighbors, are also of the opinion that any de-nationalizing policy is doomed to ultimate failure. People do suffer many privations and indignities from the officials in power, but the old revolutionary ideal of liberty does not perish. Either secret or civil organizations, like this one, keep a gleam of hope for better days to come burning.

Such, indeed, has been the origin and evolution of the Macedonian question. It progressed from mere protests against the injustices of European diplomacy after the Berlin Congress (1878) to a well organized revolutionary movement, culminating in the revolt of 1903. The Macedonians have cooperated with every effort on the part of the European powers to improve the lot of the people; they cooperated with the Young Turks, and with the Balkan states during the Balkan Wars and the World War, but all has been in vain. Selfish interests, rather than human rights, have dictated the policies of the European statesmen—as is evident in the present European crisis.

SOME SOLUTIONS FOR THE MACEDONIAN QUESTION

A solution for the Macedonian problem is as puzzling as the question is interesting. The average man and particularly the Macedonians themselves may well ask, "What is the solution to the Macedonian question? Those of us who have studied the question realize the difficulties involved in the settlement of such a many-sided problem. However, there are four plans or a combination of them which may lead to an amicable settlement of the Macedonian question. The first plan would take as a basis of Balkan re-adjustment (and therefore grant to the Macedonians the freedom for which they are struggling now) the Bulgaro-Serbian treaty of 1912, and perhaps, the recent treaty of perpetual friendship between these two countries. If there is such a thing as perpetual friendship in international relations, this treaty should result in some concrete re-adjustments between Bulgaria and Serbia. In the light of present conditions in Europe both of these treaties should bear some fruit to satisfaction of all concerned. Though the above mentioned treaties are open avenues for negotiations between Bulgaria and Serbia, they, in no way, offer a satisfactory medium for bringing Greece, Albania (I am not as yet conceding Albania to Italy), Rumania, and Turkey into the negotiation. Furthermore, the Bulgaria-Serbian alliance of 1912 takes for granted that the largest part of Macedonia is Bulgarian by race, language, customs, and sentiments—a resolution which the other Balkan states would hardly acknowledge. Much less has Serbia been inclined to listen to the admonitions of her allies and the dictates of present day conditions. But to cede territory to

a defeated enemy would, perhaps, be too much to expect from human nature itself. Such a policy breeds and nurtures Hitlers and Mussolinis.

The second possible solution of the Macedonian problem is to apply the principle of self-determination. The practical execution of this principle in Macedonia is well-nigh impossible under the existing conditions. Anyone who is acquainted with the Balkan countries knows that coercion is the principal weapon by which the people of Macedonia have often been forced to adopt now this, now that nationality. Those of us who lived there in the pre-revolutionary days, and even after, know well how a whole village or community would change its nationality over night. If one is a communicant in a church supported by Greek nationals, he is, ipso facto, a Greek by nationality. It is a curious practice but, nevertheless, true. One can not imagine that an Irishman who has accepted the tenets of the Anglican Church becoming an Englishman as a result. No, far from it. No successful plebiscite can be carried out in Macedonia unless an international force is sent there to clear Macedonia of every political agitator whose duty has been to arouse the people to fight against each other. But if self-determination can be conducted without outside pressure upon the Macedonian peasant, there is no doubt that he would decide his destiny according to his best interests. Moreover, considering the embroiling conditions that have existed in Macedonia since the World War, it becomes evident that the applications of the principle of self-determination is beyond the scope of practical politics.

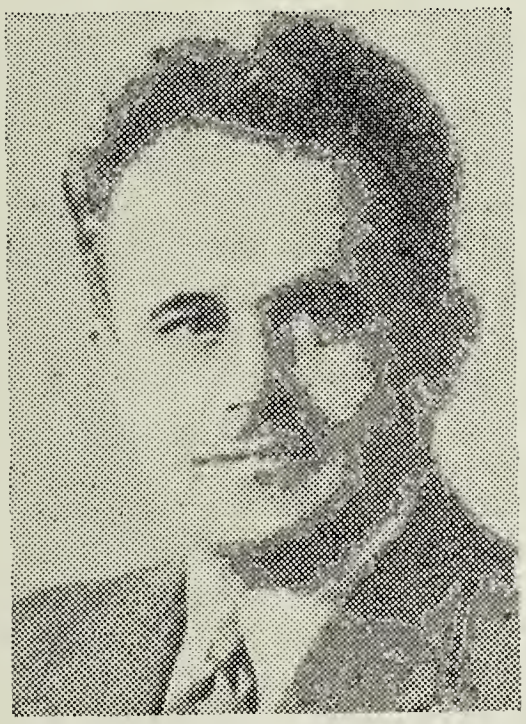
The impracticability of these two ways of settling the Macedonian question should not discourage those who are sincerely in the search for a solution. Some form of a Balkan Confederation has been suggested as a third means of solving the Macedonian question—a confederation which shall embody the political elements of our Articles of Confederation (1781-1789) and the economic elements of the German Zollvorein or a Custom's Union. A Balkan confederation is not a new concept, by any means. Balkan statesmen and public spirited men in all the Balkan countries have often proposed such a union. Prince Alexander of Serbia, Triocoupis of Greece, Stambolov of Bulgaria, and some of Rumania's early leaders worked for such a confederation. Rakovski and Karavelov both advocated a Balkan confederation in which the Bulgarian lands would become members as a unit. Moreover, recent events in central Europe make it evident that had such a confederation been accomplished, the Balkan kings and their premiers would not be hurrying to Rome, Berchtesgaden, London, and Paris to find out how their respective countries stand in the grace of Hitler, Mussolini, or Chamberlain. Indeed, it would have been to the advantage of the western democracies to have encouraged and promoted such a confederation. There are nearly sixty-five million people living within the six hundred thousand square miles of territory in the six Balkan states. These people have the reputation of being good fighters. Such a force would be enough to make Hitler hesitate in his ventures. But neither the great powers nor the Balkan states have been willing to make the small sacrifices necessary to reap the benefits of lasting peace and economic and social progress. How important it would be if the Balkan statesmen were holding conferences in their own capitals during the present European crisis in place of seeking advice from western European capitals.

But, if this trafficking of the Balkan states with the European powers for advantages over their neighbors develops so much distrust among them that the possibility of a confederation is ruled out, there is still another possible solution of the Macedonian question, merely to create a Switzerland of Macedonia in the Balkan peninsula, an autonomous Macedonia. There are serious obstacles to be encountered in this solution but there is no reason to apprehend any serious obstacles when it comes to establishing order in Macedonia. Compromises would have to be made and cooperation would have to be the guiding motive in this solution of the problem. In creating a Switzerland of Macedonia in the Balkan peninsula the following provisions might serve as a basis for discussion: (a) the territorial divisions of the old perfectures, of the Nahis (districts), should constitute the cantons of an independent Macedonia; (b) each canton should have its own assembly, elected by a popular election; (c) the local government of each community should be maintained on some such scale as our own New England town government. (The importance of this feature in the new state can not be emphasized too much. It will safeguard the interests of each community in which every peasant is concerned. It will avoid racial feuds in as much as it will guarantee self-government to each community); (d) there should be a unicameral parliament with representatives

from 20,000 constituents. (This will give an opportunity for each canton to have representatives of the different races in parliament); (e) there should be some sort of international supervision in Macedonia so as to assure the beginnings of the new state. It would be preferable that the international supervision should be done by several nations from the new world, headed by the United States.

These suggested methods of solving the Macedonian question do not exhaust the possibilities of other solutions, but it seems to me they present—each one or a combination of them—the ways and means out of the present difficulties. An independent Macedonia might be merely the dream of an idealist but dreams often come true. An independent Macedonian will open the way for much needed Balkan peace, an economic understanding among the Balkan states ,and a step toward a Balkan confederation which has been the hope of leading Balkan and European statesmen, and which now appears as the only means of safeguarding their independence. It should be understood, however, that all these methods of solving the Macedonian question pre - suppose two essential factors: (1) that the Balkan peoples and their leaders must be willing to compromise, (2) and co-operate among themselves.

Macedonia's Nationalism



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Professor Roucek delivered his address at the banquet of the 19th Annual MPO Convention September 1, 1940, at Pittsburgh, Pa.

ONE OF the most serious questions raised by the present conflict is that whether small nations are to survive or not. In fact, the whole history shows that, basically, the historical struggle in Europe hinges on the attempts of the larger nations to subordinate smaller nations to their imperialism, and the resistance of small nations to this aggressive process. If anything is obvious from the trends in modern history, it is the fact that no imperialistic nation has succeeded in conquering Europe, and particularly the Balkans, permanently.

What is it that makes the small nations, weak in their resources for resistance, able to withstand this terrific onslaught which recurs periodically? The word "nationalism" is too simple, because we have to then analyze that force known as nationalism. Without dealing exhaustively with numerous definitions offered to us, it is obvious that modern nationalism is based on psychological factors; it is the desire of a group of people, united by the bonds of unity, to live independently, be free, and develop their freedom according to their nationalistic ideology. Such kind of nationalism needs not geography or concepts of race; it is simply: such nationalism needs no language unity. It is a spiritual creation; it is a culturally homogenous social group, striving and conscious of its cultural and psychic unity, based on the memories of sufferings and victories experienced by such a group and transmitted to the succeeding generations, anxious to preserve this heritage of spiritual pride.

In this respect, Macedonia's nationalism certainly has its right to claim the rights of nationalism, for the history of Macedonia's movement has produced innumerable heroes, known and little known, who have died for their conviction and who, in their heritage, left numerous Macedonians in Europe and the world over anxious to preserve this psychological and cultural heritage known as "Macedonia." In fact, the impression left by the leaders of the movement on the writer suggests that this dynamic force of Macedonian nationalism is more than alive—as evidenced from the activities carried on by the Macedonian-Americans and their children on behalf of their small country in Europe, in the sacrifices and in the contributions they have made to their cause during the last few decades. Their will to live, their desire to free their country, and their willingness to make sacrifices is a definite expression of that nationalistic will which has defeated all imperialistic agressors of the past and which is bound to defeat them in the future.

The Macedonian Problem Since Its Origin

CHRIST ANASTASOFF was born in Turie, district of Kostur, Macedonia. He received his early education in Lerin, Macedonia. Came to the United States in 1914 and settled in St. Louis, Mo., where he proceeded with his American education. During 1925 he attended Washington University of St. Louis, faculty of Liberal Arts and in 1928 received his B.A. Specialized in History and received during 1932 his M. A. degree. He has contributed articles to many periodicals and during 1938 published his first book: The Tragic Peninsula. He is president of the local chapter of MPO, vice-president of the Central Committee of MPO, director of the MPO Bureau of Information.

Mr. Anastasoff delivered his address before the 19th Annual MPO Convention September 1, 1940, at Pittsburgh, Pa.

IT IS a high privilege and an unusual opportunity for me to address the 19th annual convention of the Macedonian Political Organization of the United States, Canada and Australia. Having chosen as my subject "The Macedonian Problem—It's Origin and Development" I do not think that you, in the light of current events, will have much difficulty in appreciating the significance of the Macedonian question.

Decades have passed since the inauguration of a violent and continuous struggle for freedom and independence of Macedonia. Yet in the desperate crisis of his country's affairs, Abdul Hamid, the Sultan of Turkey, promulgated a liberal constitution in 1876 for the whole Ottoman Empire, vainly imagining that a brave pretense of liberalism on his part, however insincere, would satisfy Europe and prevent the Powers from intervening to protect the Balkan Christians. The Tsar of Russia, however, as the special protector of Orthodox Christians, would not be so easily outwitted, and on April 24, 1877, Russia declared war on Turkey.

Immediately a Russian army invaded Turkey from the north, crossing the Danube in June, 1877. Great numbers of Bulgarians had enlisted in the Russian army and had given invaluable aid to the Russian advance. Adrianopole fell in January and the Russian army marched on towards Constantinople. In a panic of fear the Turks sued for peace.

The Treaty of San Stefano, concluded on March 3, 1878, was a sad confession of Turkey's humiliation and at the same time a triumph for the Balkan Slavs. The Sultan was to recognize the complete independence of Servia, Montenegro and Rumania, with increased territories; an autonomous tributary principality of Bulgaria was to be created, bounded by the Danube, the Black Sea, the Aegean and Albania. Thus the Treaty of San Stefano with one stroke solved the Bulgarian question most satisfactorily. With it the Bulgarians considered themselves not only liberated, but also united.

The satisfaction with which the Tsar Alexander II of Russia regarded the terms of San Stefano was equalled only by the wrath of the Austro - Hungarian and British Governments. Benjamin Disraeli, as the head of the British Cabinet and an advocate of a vigorous foreign policy, was not at all inclined to sit tamely by while Russia made herself supreme in the Near East. Even more emphatic was the Hapsburg Emperor, Francis Joseph, whose dreams of Austro-Hungarian expansion in the Balkans would not

allow either the creation of a strong Bulgarian state or the extension of Russian influence in the Balkan peninsula.

The great state of Bulgaria created by the San Stefano Treaty was based essentially on historic and ethnic considerations—the people were in the main Bulgarians. But the British and Austro-Hungarian Governments flatly refused to recognize the Treaty of San Stefano. These powers feared that the creation of a great Bulgarian State on the Balkan Peninsula might become a powerful ally of Russia. Extension of Russian sphere of influence across the Balkans would have been dangerous to the interest of England and Austria-Hungary. Great Britain was particularly aroused. In order to impress Russia with her dislike of the San Stefano Treaty, the Tories now voted money for armament, sent a fleet to the Aegean Sea, ordered troops from India, and then informed Russia that the Treaty of San Stefano must be torn up, and the whole matter submitted to a congress of the Powers.

Notwithstanding the British attitude, the Treaty of San Stefano was the wisest measure ever proposed for the pacification of the Balkan Peninsula. It was by no means favorable to Russian ambition, and, indeed, suggested a suspicion that it was drawn up by Graf Ignatieff with exaggerated moderation, because he knew that as soon as it was concluded it would be torn to pieces by Great Britain.

In order to avoid a possible conflagration among the Great Powers, Bismarck, conscious that Germany could lose nothing and might at least gain prestige, gave Austria-Hungary and Great Britain his support in demanding that the Treaty of San Stefano be submitted for ratification by the Great Powers. He issued invitations for a Congress to be held in Berlin to discuss the contents of the San Stefano Treaty. Russia, in spite of the fact that she had fought the war for liberation of the Bulgarians without the aid of any of the Powers, after some delay and discussion, agreed to accept the invitation. However, it was finally agreed that a Congress should assemble in Berlin on June 13, 1878.

In their treatment of the Balkan nationalities, the Berlin diplomats were neither generous nor far-sighted. The "Big Bulgaria" stipulated in the negotiation of San Stefano, not only aimed to liberate the Bulgarian people but also to unite them. But soon their momentary unity ended in deep affiction. One month after the Berlin Congress assembled the diplomats there announced the division of San Stefano Bulgaria. The territory north of the Balkans and south of the Danube was to be the new state of Bulgaria, a self-governing state, tributary to the Sultan and owing him suzeranity, but in other respects practically independent. South of the Balkans the Treaty created another kind of state, under the name of Eastern Rumelia, which state was to remain under the direct political and military authority of the Sultan, but it was to have a sort of "administrative authority," — with a Christian Governor. The third part, comprising Macedonia, and the Vilayet of Adrianopole, was again put fully under Turkish rule, while Bosnia-Herzegovina was handed to the then Dual Monarchy for the purpose of what they termed "Administration." This cruel blow to the national ambition of the Bulgarian people was delivered because Austria-Hungary feared that a strong Bulgarian state, friendly to Russia, might block the path of future Hapsburg expansion toward the Aegean Sea.

To whitewash the Great Powers' criminal intervention in the destruction of the San Stefano Treaty, certain provisions had been embodied in the Treaty of Berlin in order to safeguard, or rather to alleviate the political conditions of Macedonia. Thus Article 23 of the Treaty provided for the introduction of reforms in the Administration of Macedonia, which if carried out would have resulted in an autonomous regime for Macedonia. These reforms were to be drawn up by special commissions on which the Macedonians were to be largely represented.

Because of Power - politics, the Sultan never made an attempt to apply the provisions of Article 23 of the Treaty. Even the Great Powers who signed this Treaty pledging themselves to assist in the establishment of good government in Macedonia, washed their hands of any responsibility. For more than 15 years after the signing of the Berlin Treatry, the Macedonian people were entirely neglected; the Macedonian question seemed non-existent. The Sultan resumed his traditional policy of misrule. Indeed, the Macedonian people repeatedly petitioned the Powers concerned by calling attention to the provisions of Article 23 of the Treaty. But none heeded the clamor of the Macedonian Bulgars. They were totally forgotten as far as the Powers responsible for good government in Macedonia were concerned.

Since the settlement of Berlin, Macedonia has become a tragic scene of events. In 1903, the

Bulgarians of Macedonia revolted against the Sultan. The usual Turkish repression, persecution and execution was inaugurated. The Powers did not fail to take note of this disturbance, and, Austria-Hungary and Russia, the Powers now most vitally concerned, took a hand in the situation. As a consequence, schemes of reform for Macedonia were being devised—first the "Vienna Plan" and later the "Murzsteg Program." Macedonia was now placed under European supervision to see that the projected reforms were carried out by the Sultan. These schemes failed to alleviate the conditions in Macedonia. The Austro-Russian reform plans proved a complete fiasco.

Nevertheless, to avert further European intervention in the internal affairs of Turkey, the so-called Young Turks proclaimed a revolution in 1908, and deposed the Sultan. The new Turkish regime soon inaugurated a policy of denationalization and persecution of the Macedonian people. The outcome of this Turkish policy was the formation of the Balkan Alliance and the war upon Turkey in 1912. Turkey was defeated but in the settlement at Bucharest in 1913, the victorious Balkan States partioned Macedonia. The bulk of Macedonia was divided between Servia and Greece, and a small mountainous region was given to Bulgaria.

The Macedonian people looked upon the armies of the Balkan Alliance as the crusaders of liberty. They acclaimed the allied Balkan army as the "brave army of liberation." Such was the enthusiasm of the Macedonian people, who had bravely endured five centuries of Turkish oppression and maltreatment. Unfortunately their enthusiasm, their hope of liberty and independence soon began to fade. The "brave army of liberation" developed into an army on conquest—of systematic persecution, oppression and extermination.

In the heart of the Balkan Peninsula, stretching from Lake Ochrida, which washes the Albanian frontiers, to Kavala on the Aegean Sea; from Salonica to Shar Planina, lies Macedonia, a beautiful country nearly three times as large as Holland and inhabited by nearly three million people who possess the same language, the same culture, and with few exceptions, the same religion. Of these people fifty-five percent are pure Bulgarian.

Macedonia was first partitioned in 1913 at Bucharest and this partition was enlarged and confirmed by the Treaty of Neuilly in 1919. The statesmen, who drafted the peace treaties in 1919, well realized that the frontiers of the new map of Europe did not and could not altogether coincide with the aspiration of the various nationalities. To protect the rights of the minorities, therefore, the treaty makers decided to incorporate minimum guarantees for racial, linguistic, religious and national minorities. Greece and Yugoslavia, signatories of the Neuilly and Sevres Treaties, pledged to respect the rights of their respective minorities. Have Yugoslavia and Greece ever attempted to carry out the provisions of these treaties or the protection of the minorities?

Prior to the partition of the country, there were under Greek and Yugoslav Macedonia 1373 Bulgarian schools of all grades, with 2266 men and women teachers, and 78,854 students. There were also 1900 Bulgarian churches, chapels and monasteries and seven Bishoprics. The Yugoslav and Greek authorities took possession of these schools and churches and turned them into centers for a forcible and compulsive policy of denationalization. The situation in Macedonia under the ascendancy of Yugoslavia and Greece became far worse than it had been under the Sultan's rule. Both began to Grecianize and Servanize the Macedonian Bulgars in their respective possessions by closing the Bulgarian schools and churches and suppressing newspapers and periodicals, destroying the libraries and burning all the Bulgarian books. To further hasten the assimilative processes, parents were (and still are) forced to send their children to Servian or Greek schools and the children are compelled to speak either Servian or Greek. There are cases where little children have had their tongues pierced with needles for speaking their mother language—the Bulgarian. Such is the state of affairs in Macedonia today despite the minority treaties, whose articles were guaranteed by the League of Nations.

Unfortunately the lot of the Macedonian people was not alleviated even though the League of Nations did function as an instrument for the administration of justice. The war for "democracy" and "self-determination" of nationalities concerned, failed to effect the situation in Macedonia. The people there had every reason to believe that there would be given them also an opportunity to determine their political status; for peace was to be accomplished on the basis of President Wilson's program — the famous 14 points announced to the world on January 8, 1918. Point eleven of President Wilson's basis for peace states: "freedom, restoration and adjust-

ment according to nationality for the Balkan states." Thus, settlement was to be made on the basis of the free consent of the people immediately concerned. Was this Wilsonian idealistic principle ever applied to the Balkan nationalities? Emphatically No!

The authors of the treaties of peace completely ignored the principle of the "right of self-determination of peoples" proclaimed by President Wilson. The Macedonian people, who had been carrying on an unequal struggle for the right of self-determination, were not even consulted as to the regime they desired. Plebiscites were granted in different parts of Europe, but there was never even a question of its being applied in Macedonia, in spite of the clamorous insistence of the population.

True to the Wilsonian principle of "self-determination" the Italian representative at the Paris Peace Conference, Colonel Castoldi, formally submitted to the Committee on New States a draft for the autonomy of Macedonia. The English delegation, on the other hand, was in favor of a guardianship over Macedonia by the League of Nations. The American and Japanese delegations intimated their adherence to the British proposal. This, of course, shows that these delegations were opposed to the partition of Macedonia. To the misfortune of the Macedonians, George Clemenceau, the French "Tiger," put himself at the head of a "vengeance committee" and helped to crucify Macedonia.

The Macedonian people now renewed the struggle against the new oppressors, inscribing on their banner William Gladstone's motto: "Macedonia for the Macedonians." It is for this ideal that the Macedonians of today are struggling against the forces of conquest and oppression—against the brutal dictatorial regimes of Belgrade and Athens.

Today, a heavier servitude than the old one rests upon Macedonia, because the new masters are stronger than the Turks, and more violent, and Europe supports and approves them.

More than five hundred thousand Macedonians have sought refuge in Bulgaria since the annexation of their country by Greece and Yugoslavia. Those who were able to leave have left, since the Bucharest Peace in 1913, rather than suffer foreign domination. All the intellectuals, all the teachers, all those whom their antecedents or their relations rendered undesirable, have been expelled since the installation of the conquerors in 1919. Thousands more, before the frontiers were closed, fled and abandoned all their property, often leaving behind them all or part of their family. For almost a half century before the World War, Macedonia was one of the saddest zones in all the world, due to the claims of conflicting religious and nationalist propagandas of neighboring states.

How long will such a state of conditions be tolerated in Macedonia? Should our American Democracies stretch a hand across the seas to assist the Macedonian people in their clamor for freedom and liberty?

For obtaining a just, final and permanent solution of the Balkan Question, the following two main principles must be observed by the European statesmen: (1) The Balkan lands for the Balkan peoples and (2) No Balkan race shall be subjected, in whole or in part, to the domination of another. In the interests of justice and of the future peace of the Balkan Peninsula, it is necessary that the new frontiers of the Balkan states should be made to coincide as far as possible with the limits of nationalities.

In the case of Macedonia, the application of President Wilson's principle of "self-determination" is peculiarly desirable in view of the rival claims of neighboring countries, which have been the cause of infinite misery to the population for nearly half a century. Under a self-government of an independent Macedonia, the population would be enabled to care for its own interests, and to live and thrive without the molestation to which it has hitherto been subjected.

Time will work in Macedonia's favor, for the spirit of justice is yet to prevail. Themis, the goddess of Justice, is said to have flown up to the heavens—but she sometimes comes down again.

May I conclude with the words of General F. E. Burnham, who fought throughout the World War as Commanding Officer of the Canadian Expeditionary Forces, and who was for three years stationed as head of the Allied Army in the Balkan Peninsula. The greater part of his service was in Macedonia. Said General Burnham in 1931: "Macedonia is passing through dark days, but the sun of better times shall yet break through the gloom. Those who gave their lives in defense of their country shall not be forgotten. Hundreds die that thousands may be saved."

So let the Macedonians abroad—our friends and relatives, brothers and sisters—be never in despair. Macedonia will yet emerge from the depth of centuries of foreign oppression. Freedom is rising over the horizon of Macedonia.